

ISLAMIC LITERATURE IN CHINESE,  
LATE MING AND EARLY CH'ING:  
BOOKS, AUTHORS AND ASSOCIATES

by

Donald Daniel Leslie

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The Arabic (and Chinese translation) on the cover is the formula prefixed to every sūra of the Quran and to many books, bismi'llāh ir-rahmān ir-rahīm "In the Name of God, the Compassionate One, the Merciful".

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PREFACE (叙)

I would like to express my warmest thanks to Claude Pickens, Rudolf Loewenthal, Nakada Yoshinobu and David Lu for valuable bibliographical advice; to Mohamed Wassel, Muhammad Akhtar and Anne-Marie Schimmel for assistance with Arabic and Persian works; to Ludmilla Panskaya for Russian works by Palladius; to Tang Ching-ping for his accurate Chinese characters; to Yvonne Lipscomb for the excellent typing.

I owe a great deal to the Australian Research Grants Committee which has supported this work; to the Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, and Center for East Asian Research, Harvard, and in particular to Enoki Kazuo and Joseph Fletcher, for their hospitality; to the Canberra College of Advanced Education for encouraging this research and publishing it.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<u>BM</u>	British Museum
<u>BN</u>	Bibliothèque Nationale
<u>C-j</u>	<u>chü-jen</u>
<u>C-s</u>	<u>chin-shih</u>
<u>Ch. Rec.</u>	<u>Chinese Recorder</u>
<u>CKJMTTT</u>	<u>Chung-kuo jen-ming ta-tz'u-tien</u>
"Compass"	<u>Ch'ing-chen chih-nan</u> (by Ma Chu)
<u>CSLC</u>	<u>Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan</u>
<u>ECCP</u>	<u>Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period</u> (ed. by A. Hummel)
<u>FOM</u>	<u>Friends of Moslems</u>
<u>Hsing-li</u>	<u>T'ien-fang hsing-li</u> (by Liu Chih)
<u>Hui-tsu</u>	<u>Hui-tsu hui-chiao hui-min lun-chi</u>
<u>JA</u>	<u>Journal Asiatique</u>
<u>JNCBRAS</u>	<u>Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</u>
"Mosque Catalogue"	The Niu-chieh (Ox Street) mosque catalogue of Chinese and Arabic publications, c. 1920
<u>MW</u>	<u>Moslem World</u>
"Prophet"	<u>T'ien-fang chih-sheng shih-lu</u> (by Liu Chih)
<u>REI</u>	<u>Revue des Etudes Islamiques</u>
<u>RMM</u>	<u>Revue du Monde Musulman</u>
<u>SOAS</u>	School of Oriental and African Studies
<u>Tien-li</u>	<u>T'ien-fang tien-li</u> (by Liu Chih)
<u>TP</u>	<u>T'oung Pao</u>
<u>ZDMG</u>	<u>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen-ländischen Gesellschaft</u>

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INTRODUCTION

1. Key Works and Scholars

Leaving aside writings in Chinese by Muslims not concerned with Islam<sup>1</sup>, medical<sup>2</sup> and astronomical works<sup>3</sup>, and steles and other inscriptions from the 14th and 15th Century (not to

1. For example the writings of Ma Huan 馬歡, who accompanied another famous Muslim Cheng Ho 鄭和 on his great maritime expeditions in the 15th Century. See, e.g., J.J.L. Duyvendak, Ma Huan 馬歡 Re-examined, 1933, Amsterdam, and J.V.G. Mills, Ying-yai sheng-lan: 'The overall survey of the ocean's shores', 1970, xix + 393 pages. Chin Chi-t'ang 金吉堂, Chung-kuo hui-chiao shih yen-chiu 中國回教史研究, 1935, pp. 205-210, and Pai Shou-i 白壽彝, especially in his Chung-kuo I-ssu-lan shih kang-yao ts'an-k'ao tz'u-liao 中國伊斯蘭史綱要參考資料, 1948, pp. 296-307, discuss a number of Chinese poets and essayists who were Muslim.

2. The main Muslim medical work in Chinese was the Ming Hui-hui yao-fang san-shih-liu chüan 回回藥方三十六卷, of which only four (large) chüan are extant in a Ming manuscript copy held in the Peking National Library. See Paul Pelliot, "Le Hōjā et le Sayyid Husain de l'histoire des Ming", TP 38 (1948), pp. 81-292, esp. 232-235, note 311. See also J. Needham, Science and Civilisation in China, vol. 1, 1954, pp. 214-219 "Chinese-Arab Cultural and Scientific Contacts".

3. Tazaka Kōdō 田坂興道 has written widely on the calendar and astronomy, see, e.g., his Chūgoku ni okeru Kaikyō no denrai to sono gutsū 中國における回教の傳來とその弘通, 2 vols., 1964, pp. 1572-1682, and, in English, "An Aspect of Islam Culture Introduced into China", Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko 16 (1957), pp. 75-160. See also research by Yabuuchi Kiyoshi 藪内清, e.g. in Tōhō gakuho (Kyoto) 東方學報 36 (1964), pp. 611-632; and by Ma I-yü 馬以愚, Chung-kuo hui-chiao shih-chien 中國回教



mention the famous Sian "forgery" ostensibly dated 742 C.E.)<sup>4</sup>, it is generally accepted that Wang Tai-yü 王岱輿 and Chang Shih-chung 張時中 of the late Ming were the earliest to write or translate Islamic religious works in Chinese.<sup>5</sup>

3. (continued)

史鑑, 1940, pp. 52-73.

4. A preliminary analysis of the Muslim steles will be found in my article "Islam in China to 1800 : A Bibliographic Guide", Abr-Nahrain 16 (1976), pp. 16-48. See also Hartmut Walravens, "Chinesische islamische Bücher in der Cleveland Public Library", Oriens Extremus 23 (1976) pp. 245-260; and Tazaka Kōdō, op. cit., pp. 1329-1352.

5. It is perhaps significant to note that two works by Wang and Chang (my nos. 4, 5) were specifically named in a Jesuit manuscript, dated 8 Nov. 1705, which lists the names for God used by the Chinese Muslims. The manuscript is in Jap-Sin 167, fol. 319, Jesuit Archives, Rome (a companion piece to Jap-Sin 168, fol. 449, for the Kaifeng Jews). A latin version based on this Chinese original is in Fondo Gesuitico 1383, 4, Biblioteca Nazionale (Victorio Emanuele), Rome; which was published, hardly changed, by Francisco Noël, Philosophia Sinica, 1711, Prague, pp. 168-9. Henri Havret, T'ien Tchou, "Signeur du Ciel" (Variétés Sinologiques No. 19), 1901, Shanghai, pp. 3-6, gives it in French.

This manuscript, though it does not mention Ma Chu's large work of 1683 nor other early works, does name also the Ch'ing-chen chiao-k'ao 清真教考. The extant work of this identical title (my no. 32) is generally taken to be by Sun K'o-an 孫可庵, and dated 1720. This work is basically a collection of historical references to Islam in Chinese sources, most of which are also collected together in Liu Chih 劉智, Chih-sheng shih-lu 至聖實錄 (Biography of the Prophet),

Extant works by Chang or by Wang or his disciples Ma Chün-shih 馬君實 and Wu Tzu-hsien 伍子先, and some others, before 1683, when Ma Chu 馬注 edited his great compendium Ch'ing-chen chih-nan 清真指南 "The Compass of Islam", number about ten. Tazaka Kōdō 田坂興道 in his masterly Chūgoku ni okeru Kaikyō no denrai to sono gutsu 中國における回教の傳來とその弘通, 1964, pp. 1353-75, 1376-1432, follows Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎, "Minmatsu shinsho no kaiju 明末清初の回儒", pp. 377-386 in Shiratori 白鳥 Festschrift, 1925, and lists ten key scholars pre-1750, all of whom have extant works. These are Wang Tai-yü 王岱輿, Chang Shih-chung 張時中, Ma Ming-lung 馬明龍, Ma Po-liang 馬伯良, Ma Chün-shih 馬君實, Wu Tzu-hsien 伍子先, Sun K'o-an 孫可庵, Ma Chu 馬注, Liu Chih 劉智, Chin T'ien-chu 金天柱. As we shall see, five to ten others also wrote or

translated Islamic books during this period, c. 1630-1750. The key scholars<sup>6</sup> and their key works which are continually

5. (continued)

vols. 19 and 20, of approximately the same date, though edited some 50 years later by Yüan Kuo-tsu 袁國祚, c. 1778-1785 (see my section 6, below). It seems unlikely that this is the work used by the Jesuit missionaries. However, we do have an extant preface, dated 1634 (in Liu Chih's vol. 20, op. cit.) to this identical title (my no. 1). Was this an earlier work extant in 1705?

6. For full names and dates, see my section 5 "Biographies". I would stress that my chronological order is only approximative.

referred to by later writers are:

1. Wang Tai-yü 王岱輿, fl. 1650 : Cheng-chiao chen-ch'üan 正教真詮; and Ch'ing-chen ta-hsüeh 清真大學; and Hsi-chen cheng-ta 希真正答.
2. Ma Chu 馬注, fl. 1680 : Ch'ing-chen chih-nan 清真指南 (hereafter "Compass").
3. Liu Chih 劉智, fl. 1700 : T'ien-fang hsing-li 天方性理 (hereafter hsing-li); and T'ien-fang tien-li 天方典禮 (hereafter tien-li); and Chih-sheng shih-lu 至聖寶錄 (hereafter "Prophet").
4. Ma Fu-ch'u 馬復初 of the 19th Century (not dealt with in this work).

These key scholars and their works symbolise renaissance periods for Chinese Islam. Ma Chu failed to persuade the K'ang-hsi Emperor to treat seriously his claim for recognition as a Sayyid (descendant of the Prophet). Nevertheless, K'ang-hsi did perhaps show some interest as Ma Chu suggests, though the account of K'ang-hsi's conversation with a Muslim general in 1679, found in the Hui-hui yüan-lai 回回原來, probably of the early 18th Century, is, one suspects, legendary. In 1686, a collection and catalogue of works in Arabic, etc., was undertaken.

It was Liu Chih's works as much as the writer himself that succeeded. Several were shown to the Ch'ien-lung Emperor in 1782, in particular the "Prophet", after an over-zealous provincial governor Chu Ch'un 朱椿 had reported adversely on their contents, a report rejected by the Emperor. Chu destroyed some engraving blocks around this time. Liu Chih's tien-li was the only Muslim work included in the Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu.

All this occurred some 50 years after Liu's death, the leading Muslim involved being his editor Yüan Kuo-tsu 袁國祚.<sup>7</sup>

The key works and several others went through several editions and reprinting. We should note the work of Ma Ta-en 馬大恩 of Han-nan, Shensi, c. 1820-8; Shen Feng-i 沈鳳儀 of Yen-shan (Peking), c. 1835-8; Ma Fu-ch'u 馬復初 of Ta-li, Yunnan, and his disciple Ma An-li 馬安禮 around the 1870's; Chou Ming-te 周明德 of Chengtu, Szechwan, c. 1892; Ma Fu-hsiang 馬福祥 and others in the 1920's,

7. In 1781-4, the Manchu government dealt firmly with the Muslim New Teaching, executing its founder Ma Ming-hsin 馬明心 in 1781. See Wei Yüan 魏源, Sheng-wu chi 聖武記, 1842, chap. 7, translated by C. Imbault-Huart "Deux Insurrections des Mahométans du Kan-sou (1648-1783)", Journal Asiatique 1889, pp. 494-525 (and also J.J.M. de Groot, "The Wahhabee Movement in Kansu", pp. 311-329 of his Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China, 1903-4). See also Nakada Yoshinobu 中田吉信, Kaikai minzoku no shu mondai 回回民族の諸問題, 1971, pp. 81-4, C.L. Pickens, Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Islam in China, 1950, pp. 30-32, and J.F. Ford, "Some Chinese Muslims of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", Asian Affairs, 1974, pp. 144-156, esp. 153-6. See also my section 7 "Imperial Edicts and Memorials" (below). A recent analysis of the New Teaching is J. Fletcher, "Central Asian Sufism and Ma Ming-hsin's New Teaching" in Proceedings of the Fourth East Asian Altaistic Conference (Taipei, 1975). [Not seen]

in Peking and elsewhere. We have catalogues and lists for Peking, Chengtu, Shanghai, Tientsin and elsewhere.

## 2. Sources

Our most fundamental sources for the early books are, of course, the extant works, in Japan and elsewhere (and mainland China, unfortunately not yet open to scholarly work). Of the 70 odd works discussed below, about 40 from the 17th and 18th Centuries are extant, most by the ten authors stressed by Kuwata. Works by all ten are found in Japan and also in the U.S., and by all except Ma Ming-lung in Paris. Many of these have dated prefaces and postscripts, and sometimes undated works or authors can be identified. The prefaces and instructions by Ma Chu and Liu Chih (and by his editor Yüan Kuo-tsu) are particularly valuable. In certain editions of several of the extant works are found lists of associates, supervisors, editors and assistants. Several scholars, Muslim and non-Muslim, can be traced in local gazetteers and other non-Muslim sources to confirm our dates.

We have also several specific lists of Muslim translations into Chinese, manuscripts held, works presented to Ch'ien-lung, or simply those thought most important by the writer of later book or preface. These confirm the existence of a particular work at a particular time, though only rarely will the author be named.

In approximate chronological order, we have :

1. The 1681 preface by Ma Ch'eng-yin 馬承蔭 to the "Compass", which names ten Muslim writers or scholars, with their native province:

Li Ping-hsü	李秉旭	of Ch'in 秦 (Shensi)
Ma Ming-lung	馬明龍	of Ch'u 楚 (Hupeh)
Ch'ang Yung-hua	常永華	of Lu 魯 (Shantung)
Li Yen-ling	李延齡	of Lu
Ma Chün-shih	馬君實	of Wu 吳 (Kiangsu)
Ma Chih-ch'i	馬之騏	of Wu
Ma Ch'eng-i	馬承益	of Wu
Huang-fu Ching	皇甫經	of Yüeh 粵 (Kwangtung, Kwangsi)
She Ch'i-yün	舍起雲	of Chung-shan 中山 (Shensi?)
Ma Hua-chiao	馬化蛟	of Yen 燕 (Hopei)

- 1a. Letters of greeting and poems of eulogy sent to Ma Chu and included in his preface volume (c. 1683) as Fu hai-nei tseng-yen 附海內贈言 .

The authors are:

Ma T'ing-jui	馬廷瑞	, <u>Chiao-ling</u> 教領
		"Instructor" of Ku-tang 古碭 (in Kiangsu?)
Ma Chih-ch'i	馬之騏	, <u>Ming-ching</u> 明經 i.e. <u>kung-sheng</u> 貢生 , of Chin-ling 金陵 (Nanking, Kiangsu)
Cheng Shih-ch'ang	鄭士昌	, <u>Po-wen</u> 博文
		"Learned" (Director of Studies?) of Chin-ling
Feng T'ung-yü	馮通宇	, <u>Ming-ching</u> 明經 of Sian (Shensi)

Li Yen-ling 李延齡 , Ming-ching of Shantung  
 Ku Chih-ts'an 古之瓚 , Ming-ching of Kuang-ling  
                     廣陵 (Yangchow,  
                     Kiangsu)  
 Yang Kuo-chu 楊國柱 , Chiao-ling "Instructor" of  
                     Yen-chung 燕中 (Hopei?)  
 Huang-fu Ching 皇甫經 , Ming-ching of Ch'u-nan  
                     楚南 (Hunan)  
 Liu San-chieh 劉三傑 , Kuang-hsüeh 廣學  
                     "Learned" (Director of  
                     Studies?) of Shang-yüan  
                     上元 (Nanking)  
 Cheng Chih-pi 鄭之璧 , 80 year old gentleman of  
                     Chiang-ning 江寧  
                     (Nanking)  
 Ts'ai Hao-ming 蔡鶴鳴 , Kuang-wen 廣文  
                     "Prefectural Director of  
                     Studies" of Pao-ning 保  
                     寧 (Szechwan)  
 She Ch'i-yün 舍起雲 , Ming-ching of Kuan-hsi  
                     關西 (Shensi, Kansu)  
 Wang Hsing-wen 王興文 , Ming-ching of Chi-ning  
                     濟寧 (Shantung)  
 Yüan Ju-ch'i 袁汝琦 , Ming-ching of Chin-ling  
                     (Nanking)  
 Yang T'ien-ch'iu 楊天虬 , Hou-hsüeh 後學 "Your  
                     disciple" of Kuang-ling  
                     (Yangchow)

Yang Jung-yeh 楊榮業 , Ming-ching of Chin-t'ai  
                     金臺 (Peking)  
 Ma Hua-chiao 馬化蛟 , Ming-ching of Chin-t'ai  
 Hsieh Ch'i-yu 俠啟祐 , Hsiao-lien 孝廉 i.e.  
                     chü-jen 舉人  
                     of Tung-ch'uan 棟川  
                     (Yunnan)  
 Ma T'i-jen 馬體仁 , Chiao-ling "Instructor"  
                     of Kunming (Yunnan)  
 Al Yen-nien 艾延年 , Ju-hsüeh 儒學  
                     "Former Director of Studies"  
                     of Chiang-ch'uan 江川  
                     (Yunnan), the 80 year old  
                     of Kunming  
 Ma Sui-t'ai 馬綏泰 , Hou-hsüeh "Your disciple"  
                     of Ku-liang 古梁  
                     (Kaifeng, Honan)

2. Liu Chih, in a special section ts'ai-chi ching shu-mu 採輯  
     經書目 just before his "Instructions", lists, 40 for  
     the hsing-li and 45 for the tien-li, his Arabic and (especially)  
     Persian sources, with Chinese transcription and Chinese trans-  
     lation. 19 are duplicates, with 66 distinct items. These are  
     invaluable for the original works<sup>8</sup>. We should note, with Kuwata  
     and Saguchi, the strong Sufi element.

8. In the Toyo Bunko copy, the Arabic original is also given -  
 but with one definite mistake (and also one r for l). Though  
 this Arabic script list is probably early, 19th or even 18th  
 Century, by a Chinese Muslim, (could the ink be tested?), it  
 cannot have been by Liu Chih himself. Palladius, "Kitaiskaia

3. Liu Chih in his pen-ching to the Hsing-li, c. 1704, cites the following seven works, and Hei Ming-feng 黑鳴鳳 in his "Instructions" (Li-yen 例言) to his Hsing-li pen-ching chu-shih 性理本經註釋, c. 1707, names the first six of these key works (mostly Sufi):

<u>Chen-ching chu</u>	真經注	(mentioned 3 times)
<u>Chao-wei ching</u>	昭微經	( " " 10 times)
<u>Fei-yin ching</u>	費隱經	( " " 14 times)
<u>Tao-hsing tui-yüan ching</u>	道行推原經	(mentioned 25 times)
<u>Yen-chen ching</u>	研真經	( " " 14 times)
<u>Ko-chih ch'üan-ching</u>	格致全經	( " " 6 times)
<u>T'ien-ching ch'ing-hsing</u>	天經情性	(once only, by Liu, not mentioned by Hei)

8. (continued)

literatura magometan", Trudy imperatorskago Russkago arkheologicheskago obshchestva 18 (1887), pp. 285-8 (not in partial translations by L. Panskaya, with D. Leslie, Introduction to Palladii's Chinese Literature of the Muslims, 1977, and by R. Majerczak in RMM 28 (Sept. 1914), pp. 108-164), listed these, together with a Russian translation of the Chinese translation; and C.L. Dabry de Thiersant, Le Mahométisme en Chine et dans le Turkestan oriental, 1878, vol. II, p. 366, named 26 originals. Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎, "Ryu Chi no saikyō shomoku ni tsuite" 劉智の採經書目に就いて, pp. 335-353 in Ichimura 市村 Festschrift, 1933, made a complete analysis (followed by Tazaka Kōdō, 1964, pp. 1237-97, esp. 1286-9, with some corrections). I have, together with Dr Mohamed Wassel, produced a new analysis "Arabic and Persian Sources used by Liu Chih" in Central Asiatic Journal, 1982?

With the help of Liu Chih's tien-li and hsing-li lists mentioned above, the original Persian works for these and a few other works are identifiable. However, we have no certainty whether Hei was referring to Chinese translations or merely to the original works available to Liu Chih. Certainly several of these were translated at about this time or even before.

4. Chin T'ien-chu 金天柱, in his 1738 preface to his Ch'ing-chen shih-i 清真釋疑, mentions his fore-runners, Wang Tai-yü and his three works, Ma Chu and the "Compass", Liu Chih and his hsing-li and tien-li (the "Prophet", though written by now, was not yet printed).

5. The memorials, of the Manchu governor-general Sa-tsai 薩載 and of Chu Ch'un 朱椿 and other provincial governors of 1781-1784 (incorporated in the preface volume of the "Prophet" by its editor Yüan Kuo-tsu 袁國祚), name several works by Liu Chih, the "Prophet", the tzu-mu chieh-i

字母解義, wu-kung shih-i 五功釋義, hsing-li, tien-li, T'ien-fang san-tzu-ching 天方三字經 (probably by Liu), and the Ch'ing-chen shih-i 清真釋疑 (actually by Chin T'ien-chu 金天柱 as the more accurate governor-general Sa-tsai wrote). (Cf. also the list by A Jih-fu below).

6. Of capital importance is the list by Yüan Kuo-tsu, of about 1780 (for most of Yüan's many prefaces, instructions and post-scripts date from this time), entitled T'ien-fang ch'ün-shu hsü 天方群書序, just before the preface by Sai Yü 賽璵 in the preface volume, but found only in certain editions (e.g. in the 1874 edition in Toyo Bunko, Tokyo,

and Ecole, Paris), of the "Prophet".

Yüan himself writes : "Of 20 plus books written by former generations, early and late, 10 plus have been printed, while over 10 not printed have been transmitted to the present. I present below a list of all the printed and unprinted books".

In the list are about 16 printed works followed by about 13 in manuscript form (held in or near Nanking?), 29 in all. Most of the first 16 are still extant, though only a few of the other 13 were printed and most of them are consequently probably lost for ever.

I have incorporated all of these in my own list, noting Yüan's occasional short comments (slightly different in different copies I have seen). We know that he missed out several works; his list presumably included only works available in Nanking.

7. Ma Ta-en 馬大恩, in his 1828 preface to Ma Chu's "Compass", states that he reprinted the tien-li, hsing-li,

Ch'ing-chen ta-hsüeh, Wu-kung shih-i, Wei-chen yao-lüeh 衛

真要略 (by Ma Chün-shih 馬君實, not in Yüan's list), the "Prophet", T'ien-fang san-tzu-ching, tzu-mu chieh-i, and the "Compass".

8. An important confirmatory list, though somewhat late, is that by A Jih-fu 阿日孚, found in the 1878 Chu-t'ien ta-tsan chi-chieh 祝天大讚集解, chapter Hui-tzu chieh

回字解

A Jih-fu names as translations 13 works mentioned by Yüan (all noted in my list below), together with two works by Ma Fu-ch'u 馬復初 (Ma Te-hsin 馬德新) and one by Ma

An-li 馬安禮, famous Muslim scholars of the second half of the 19th Century. It is doubtful if this can be considered as an independent source.

He continues that the tien-li was included in the Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu. The following works, four by Liu Chih and one by Chin T'ien-chu, were offered to and inspected by Ch'ien-lung in the 47th year of his reign, i.e. 1782. The "Prophet", T'ien-fang san-tzu-ching, Wu-kung shih-i, Ch'ing-chen shih-i (by Chin), Tzu-mu chieh-i. A Jih-fu then mentions some other works by Ma Fu-ch'u and Ma An-li.

There can be little doubt that Isaac Mason, in his "Notes on Chinese Mohammedan Literature", JNCBRAS 56 (1925), pp. 172-215, has misread A Jih-fu when he claims that my nos. 45, 46, 47, 48 (his nos. 232, 140, 266, 25) were "mentioned as having been presented to the Emperor Chien Lung in 1783". These rare items were indeed mentioned earlier by A Jih-fu, following Yüan, but it is the well-known works of Liu Chih (and Chin) that were shown to the Emperor. These are the works mentioned in the memorials of 1781-4 by Chu Ch'un and others (see above).

Ma An-li, in his 1878 preface to this work by A Jih-fu, praises Liu Chih for uniting Hui (Islam) and Ju (Confucianism), placing him well above Wang Tai-yü and Ma Chu. Liu wrote 100 volumes not transmitted, he writes. Ma An-li also mentions the Chiao-k'uan chieh-yao 教款捷要 (by Ma Po-liang 馬伯良), the Hui-hui yüan-lai, and the T'ien-fang cheng-hsüeh 天方正學 (a 19th Century work by Lan Hsü Tzu-hsi 藍煦子羲). Ma An-li, together with his master Ma Fu-ch'u, shortened and revised two key works, by Wang Tai-yü and by Ma Chu, as the Chen-ch'üan yao-lu 真詮要錄 and

It is important to compare these lists with extant works, and also with other independent lists. The analyses by Palladius (and see also partial translations by Panskaya and by Majerczak) and by Mason were based on important collections no longer complete, and quite distinct in origin from the Japanese collections (see Tenri and other catalogues and also Japanese lists and analyses, e.g. by Kuwata and Tazaka, or the 1939 catalogue of the Dairen library)<sup>9</sup>, themselves quite distinct from the analyses of Chinese scholars (Chin Chi-t'ang, largely followed by Fu T'ung-hsien and Pai Shou-i)<sup>10</sup>. Most of the d'Ollone collection analysed by Vissière<sup>11</sup> is now held by the Ecole des Langues Orientales, Paris.

Among catalogues of Islamic books published in China in the

9. Shina Kaikyō bunken mokuroku 支那回教文献目錄, 1939, 16 pages, a separate Supplement to article in Shokō 118 (1938-9), pp. 1223-230.
10. Fu T'ung-hsien 傅統先, Chung-kuo hui-chiao shih 中國回教史, 1940 (1970 reprint); Pai Shou-i 白壽彝, Chung-kuo hui-chiao hsiao-shih 中國回教小史, 1944, revised (with mistakes!) in Chung-kuo I-ssu-lan shih kang-yao 中國伊斯蘭史綱要, 1946 (abbreviated French translation in Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore 1947, pp. 392-417).
11. See A. Vissière, "Ouvrages chinois mahométans", pp. 389-419 in H.M.G. d'Ollone, (Mission d'Ollone 1906-1909) : Recherches sur les Musulmans chinois, 1911.

20th Century, that by the Peking Niu-chieh 牛街 (Ox Street) Mosque<sup>12</sup> (henceforth "Mosque Catalogue"), of c. 1925, held in Tenri, is particularly valuable, for it calls several works translations, giving Arabic (or Persian) titles for some, and also lists over 50 in Arabic script, available in Peking. Among over 100 Chinese items, one or two are early works missed by Yüan in Nanking in 1780, then (and now?) extant.

In my Appendices, I give tables of extant holdings, and of former collections and commentaries, and also, in my section 10, an analysis of bibliographies and catalogues.

### 3. Original Arabic and Persian Sources

I have completed, together with Mohamed Wassel, an analysis of Arabic and Persian sources used by Liu Chih in his tien-li and hsing-li, following on the 1933 article of Kuwata Rokurō. In the present work, I merely wish to identify those works actually translated into Chinese during the early period. Occasionally we cannot be sure whether a Chinese title refers to an actual translation or Chinese work or simply to an Arabic or Persian one, with only a Chinese title. Some of the extant manuscripts in Arabic script in Tokyo and elsewhere have a Chinese title but no translation.

12. Ch'ing-chen shu-pao-she t'u-shu mu-lu 清真書報社圖書目錄, c. 1925, Peking, 22 pages.

The main works we are concerned with, most of which were actually translated in the early Ch'ing, are:

1. Lawā'ih (my no. 27)
2. Maqsad (my no. 17, 17a)
3. Mawāqif (my no. 29)
4. Mirsād (my no. 13, 13a)
5. Iršād (my no. 24)
6. Aṣi<sup>CC</sup>at al-Lama<sup>C</sup>āt (my no. 28, 28a)
7. Tanbīh (my no. 25)
8. Munabbihāt (my no. 16, 16a)
9. Mir'āt al-insān (my no. 30)
10. Hidāya (my no. 31)
11. Havā-i Minhāj (my no. 9)

Many of these are Persian Sufi works. For a study of this Persian influence, see Saguchi Tōru 佐口透 "Chūgoku Isuramu no keiten" 中國イスラムの経典, Tōyō gakuhō 32 (1950), pp. 480-508, esp. 503; Tazaka Kōdō, 1964, pp. 1237-1297; and Imanaga Seiji 今永清二, "Chūgoku Isuramu ni okeru Sūfizumu ni kansuru ikkōsatsu" 中國イスラムにおけるスーフィズムに関する一考察, Hiroshima Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyō 32/1 (1973), pp. 46-64, esp. 57-64.

Other titles which may perhaps be based on the actual Chinese text rather than an actual Arabic or Persian original include:

- Chahār Fasl (my no. 5)
- Imāni majmū<sup>C</sup> ? (my no. 8)
- Muhimmāt (my no. 15)

WORKS  
IN  
CHINESE



4. Works in Chinese (in chronological order)

Li-yen 例言 "Instructions"

- (a) Some works have alternate names or titles.
- (b) Some works have an optional part of the title,  
e.g. T'ien-fang.
- (c) Certain characters may possibly be alternatives,  
e.g. 醒 hsing and 省 hsing (sheng), both  
"awaken, arouse".
- (d) All early prefaces are listed, but not those  
to later editions. Prefaces are hsü 序 or  
叙 ; Instructions are 例言 , 小引 , or similar  
terms; Postface or postscript is pa 跋 .
- (e) Editions are listed in the order of my opinion  
of their actual existence : those I personally  
have seen and checked; then those mentioned  
by Vissière (most reliable), Mason, etc.; then  
others, one or two of which may not be extant  
or simply errors.
- (f) The number of folios (mei 枚 ) and pages  
varies from edition to edition. I have given  
what I myself have checked, or follow Vissière,  
Mason, Palladius, etc. However, this is not as  
significant as the number of chüan or division  
into sections, comparatively stable, and is meant only  
as a hint towards the size of the work. The number  
of ts'e 冊 or han 函 also varies with the  
edition.

- (g) Each edition may have new material, added or omitted by previous editions. Key information may even be found only in one particular copy.
- (h) For further details of authors, preface writers, and associates, see my section 5 (below). I have tried to distinguish the non-Muslims, but not always with certainty.
- (i) Details for bibliographical references are found in my appendices. I should stress that, for many of the works, Palladius in particular (and Panskaya and Majerczak), Vissière, Mason, and others, add further information.
- (j) It must be admitted that a surprisingly large number of geographical names are difficult to identify. The dictionaries do not seem to cover even the most common names.

# 1. Ch'ing-chen chiao-k'ao hsü 清真教考序

Preface, 1634, by Chang Hsin, tzu Ching-chih 張忻(靜之), (1625 chin-shih of Yeh 掖 hsien), of Pei-hai 北海 (Shantung), (father of 1643 chin-shih Chang Tuan 張端), to a work presumably now lost. The preface alone is found in Liu Chih's "Prophet", vol. 20, pp. 15a-18a, and the first lines in his tien-li, vol. 1, p. 14. Cf. my no. 32 for an extant work of the same title, of 1720 or earlier. The Jesuits refer in 1705 to this title, but it is not clear which, if either, of these works is meant (see my Introduction, p. 2). See E. Parker, Studies in Chinese Religion, 1910, pp. 251-2, for a garbled summary.

# 2. Ch'ün-shu (hui-chi) shih-i pa 群書(彙輯)釋疑跋

Postscript, 1636, by Chan Ying-p'eng 詹應鵬 of Hsüan-ch'eng 宣城 hsien, Anhwei, chin-shih (of 1616), possibly not a Muslim, holder of several posts in Chekiang, to a work now lost. The postscript alone is found in Liu Chih's "Prophet", vol. 20, pp. 18a-22a.

# 3. T'ien-fang sheng-chiao hsü 天方聖教序

Preface, undated, by Ting P'eng 丁澎 (or 鵬) hao Yüeh-yüan 藥園, of Ch'ien-t'ang 錢塘 (Hangchow), (chin-shih of 1655), to a work now lost. The preface alone is found in Liu Chih's "Prophet", vol. 20, pp. 13a-14b, and in his tien-li, vol. 1, pp. 14-15, (and also slightly longer in my 54a, pp. 60a-61a). This preface is almost certainly earlier than 1655, for Ting is not labelled a chin-shih.

4. Cheng-chiao chen-ch'üan 正教真詮 by Wang Tai-yü 王  
岱輿 .

Listed by Yüan, "Engraving blocks held in Kwangtung";  
called a translation by A Jih-fu.

Preface, undated, by author ("chen-hui lao-jen" 真回老人 )

Preface, 1642, by Liang I-chün 梁以濬

Preface, 1657, by Ho Han-ching 何漢敬

Instructions, by Ting Yen, hao Huan-hu 丁彦 ( 鶴湖 )

Postface, by Cheng Ying-su 鄭應驤

2 chüan, 40 sections, 113 + 111 folios; editions 1801, 1873,  
1922, 1877, 1904, 1931, 1781, 1795, 1875.

The prefatory section includes a valuable Ch'ün-shu chi-k'ao  
群書集考, mostly found also but expanded in Liu Chih's  
"Prophet", vol. 19 (see my section 6). The 1801, 1873, and 1877  
editions include 28 folios of Imperial Edicts (see my section  
7) in a pre-volume. Some editions have a 問答紀言.

See Tazaka, 1964, pp. 1353 ff.; Vissière (d'Ollone, pp. 393-  
4); Fu T'ung-hsien, pp. 106-7.

4a. Chen-ch'üan yao-lu 真詮要錄

This is a summarised and revised version, by Ma Fu-ch'u 馬  
復初 and Ma An-li 馬安禮 in 1864 (A.H. 1280), 2  
chüan, 40 + 43 folios. See Tazaka, pp. 1389-91, for a  
comparison with the original.

5. Ssu-p'ien yao-tao (pu-chu or i-chieh) (pien-meng ch'ien-shuo)

四篇要道 (補註 or 譯解) (便蒙淺說)  
by Chang Shih-chung 張時中 .

Listed by Yüan, "printing blocks spoilt". A Persian title,  
given in the Mosque catalogue, is Chahār Fasī ("Four Chapters"),  
and the work is presumably a translation. There are other later  
works with this title, e.g. Mason, no. 15 Ch'e-ha-lei fa(n)-su-  
(li), and no. 127 (with both Chinese and Arabic titles), prob-  
ably unconnected. Cf. also Saguchi, p. 490.

Preface by the author; 1653 preface by Sha Chen-ch'ung 沙  
振崇 ; another preface by Chou Shih-ch'i 周士騶 (not  
in all editions). 4 chüan, 5 + 85 folio ?; editions 1832, 1872,  
1923.

The Dairen catalogue, 1939 (Supplement to Shokō), mentioned  
notes by Liu Chih, which is not confirmed; Palladius, pp. 358-363,  
describes Liu Chih's T'ien-fang san-tzu-ching as a summary (or  
commentary) of this work. See Tazaka, pp. 1405-9.

6. Hsi-chen cheng-ta 希真正答 by Wang Tai-yü.

Instructions, 1658, by Ma Chung-hsin, Chün-shih, the elder  
(父) of Nanking. We should reject Tazaka's view, pp. 1428, 1430,  
that this refers to Chung-hsin's father. Reviewed or edited by  
Wu Chih-pi 伍之璧 .

One chüan, 7 + 35 folios?, but in several sections, including  
82 questions and answers.

Editions are : 1925, 1827, 1931, 1929.

See Tazaka, pp. 1396-1400.

6a. Ch'eng-yü 剩語 by Wang Tai-yü.

This 12 folio section, probably not found as a separatum, a debate with a Buddhist monk, is an appendix to the above, in 46 dialogues. See Palladius, p. 371 (Majerczak, p. 123 "Aphorismes"), and Tazaka, op. cit.

7. Ch'ing-chen ta-hsüeh 清真大學 by Wang Tai-yü.

One chüan, three parts, plus preface and conclusion, 14 + 36 folios. Undated. Editions are: 1852, 1921 (see no. 7a), 1794, 1875, 1918, 1931, 1832, 1876. See analysis and translation by Kadono, 1941; anon., in Kaikyō jijō 2, 2 (1939), pp. 67-8; Tazaka, pp. 1392-1396; and Palladius, pp. 364-6 (Majerczak, pp. 121-3).

7a. Ch'i-meng yao-lüeh 啓蒙要略

Supposedly published (in 1852, 1921, 1875) together with (or including) Liu Chih's Wu-kung shih-i (our no. 35). But copies I have seen give only Wang's work, my no. 7, under this (joint) title.

See Tazaka, op. cit.

8. Kuei-chen tsung-i 歸真總義 by Chang Shih-chung.

Recorded or translated from the oral version by A-shih-ko 阿世格, an Indian Muslim Chang met in Nanking in 1638. The original title is I-ma-ni mu-chih-mo-lei 以麻尼穆直默勒 (Imāni majmū<sup>c</sup> "The totality of the Faith"?).

Postscript by Sha Chen-ch'ung 沙振崇, dated 1661; and Instructions by Chang at 78, thus also 1661.

1 chüan, 7 + 74 folios; editions 1878, 1922, 1908, 1923.

See Tazaka, pp. 1401-5.

9. Hui-ching tzu-hui 回經字彙

According to Fu T'ung-hsien, p. 156, this "dictionary of Islamic Scripture" was by Ch'ang Chih-mei 常志美. Chin Chi-t'ang, p. 202, writes that Ch'ang translated the Ha-wa-i-mi-no-ha-chih 哈挖衣米諾哈志 (Havā-i Minhāj, a Persian grammar, says Saguchi, p. 500). Are these the same work? Neither is extant outside China, nor mentioned by other scholars. A damaged copy 鈔本 of c. 1800 was held by the She 余 (or is it 舍?) family, according to Li Huan-i 李煥乙, Ch'ing-chen hsien-cheng yen-hsing (shih) lüeh 清真先正言行(事)略, 1874, vol. 2, p. 38b.

Ch'ang Chih-mei was a teacher of She Yün-shan 舍蘊善, fl. 1679.

10. (T'ien-fang) Jen-chi hsing-yü (天方認己醒悟 or 語) by  
Ma Ming-lung 馬明龍 .

This short work, 1 chüan, 15 folio?, is dated 1661; editions are 1898, 1919, 1918.

We should dismiss the suggestion of Chou Ming-te 周明德, 19th Century, followed by Vissière, that Ma and this work were of the Ch'ien-lung period. However, it is not impossible that a further author, also named (Ma?) Ming-lung, possibly of Ch'ien-lung, was connected to the following work.

See Tazaka, pp. 1410-3.

11. Hsing-shih ko-yen 醒世格言

This 12 folio, undated text, by Master Ming-lung 明龍 師 of Hupeh, distributed by Mr Wang Wu 王吳氏 of Chin-ch'eng 錦城 (Ch'eng-tu) may well be the preface (by Wang Wu?) to a now lost work of this or similar title by Ma Ming-lung, author of the above work, also of Hupeh.

We should note also that this short work is found as the second half of Ma Fu-ch'u's 19th Century (Hsü) T'ien-fang san-tzu-ching (續) 天方三字經, possibly associated in some way with (Ma?) Ming-lung (compare Mason, nos. 275, 216, 149). We do not know which is the earliest of the various T'ien-fang san-tzu-ching (one of which is probably by Liu Chih, see my no. 38). Could one go back to Ma Ming-lung of early K'ang-hsi? Tazaka, p. 1411, writes of a 9th generation descendant of Ma Ming-lung in 1735, which is surely impossible and only adds to the confusion.

12. (T'ien-fang) Wei-chen yao-lüeh (天方) 衛真要略 by  
Ma Chün-shih 馬君寶 ('the old Master' 老夫子).

Undated, but with a preface by Sha Ping 沙炳, fl. 1673-8. There is also a postscript by Sha Chen-ch'ung 沙振崇, fl. 1653-1661.

Though there seems to be only one extant edition, of 1892, one chüan, 3 + 16 folio, nobody queries this as by Ma (though it may perhaps be a later work based on his). Though not included in Yüan's list, it was reprinted by Ma Ta-en, approximately 1828, and mentioned by him in his 1828 preface to the "Compass".

Ma Chün-shih is well-known as a disciple of Wang Tai-yü, and fl. 1658 (see my biography below).

13. Kuei-chen yao-tao (i-i or shih-i) 歸真要道 (譯義 or 釋義) trans. by Wu Tzu-hsien 伍子先.

Preface, by author, undated (refers to 1672 corrections by his elder brother T'ien-hsü 天叙).

Preface, by Ma Shih-chang 馬士章, 1678 (at 77).

Preface, by Sha Ping 沙炳, 1678.

Instructions by Wu Chia-hsüan 嘉璿; Chung-shih 中時, nephew of Tzu-hsien, 1678 (at 67 years). Translation of original Arabic preface in Chinese. Pre-volume + 4 chüan, 5 sections, 40 chapters (3, 5, 20, 4, 8), 15 + 216 folios; editions 1891, Republic. There is a detailed summary in Palladius, pp. 414-434 (Majerczak, pp. 136-147). This work is one of two translations of the Persian Mirsād al-<sup>C</sup>Ibād by Abū-Bakr, died c. 1256 (see Brockelmann I, no. 448). Wu Tzu-

hsien's preface is explicit; Mi-erh-sa-te by Erh-pu-tun-lao-hsi E-pu-pai-k'o-erh, of Yüan times. Palladius, p. 192, dates it as 620 A.H. (1223 C.E.), a man of Hamadan who wrote the work in Caesaria (Majerczak, p. 137) [in Sivas, D.L.].

Writing of a copy in Arabic script obtained in Kansu, E. Blochet, p. 290 in d'Ollone, writes: "Mersad el-ibad min el-mabda ila 'l-miad, traité de Soufisme par Abou Bekr Abd Allah ibn Mohammed ibn Shahvaer el-Asadi el-Razi, plus connu sous le nom de Nadjm ed-Din Daya...le texte de ce manuscrit est glosé en Chinois" (and cf. Bouvat, 1909, and Iwamura).<sup>13</sup>

This text is one of the best known, still in use in the 20th Century Muslim schools in China, see 1936 and 1937 Yü-kung articles by Ma Sung-ting 馬松亭 and P'ang Shih-ch'ien

龐士謙, reprinted in Pai Shou-i, Chin Chi-t'ang, etc.,  
Hui-tsu, Hui-chiao, Hui-min lun-chi 回族回教  
回民論集, 1974, see pp. 185-7, and p. 196.

13. L. B(ouvat), "Manuscripts persans", RMM 8 (June 1909), p. 221; Iwamura Shinobu 岩村忍, Chūgoku Kaikyō shakai no kōzō 中國回教社會の構造, 2 vols., 1949-50, I, pp. 97-100. See also Saguchi Tōru, 1950, p. 491; Tazaka Kōdō, pp. 1263 ff., esp. 1268-70; Kuwata Rokurō, 1933, p. 336; Pai Shou-i, 1946, p. 45.

13a. Tui-yüan cheng-tao 推原正道

Yüan, in his list, notes a Mirsād, as a manuscript, presumably in Chinese but without a Chinese title. Note that Yüan's grandfather, Yüan Ju-ch'i in his 1704 preface to the hsing-li also mentions the Mirsād, as does Chang Shih-chung in the preface to his 1653 Ssu-p'ien yao-tao. Now Palladius, p. 192, footnote (p. 114 in Majerczak, p. 72 in Panskaya), mentions a 1686-7 Tui-yüan cheng-te (or tao), 5 + 275 folios, as a second translation of the Mirsād by Abū Bakr. This is strongly supported by Liu Chih, who, in both tien-li and hsing-li lists, equates the Mirsād "Highway" with a Tao-hsing tui-yüan ching 道行推原經.

In the Ecole des Langues Orientales, Paris, Catalogue no. Chi 845, is a manuscript in three notebooks, in 20 sections, with the title, Tui-yüan cheng-k'uei 推原正逵, not referred to by Vissière or any other French scholars. Its vol. 2 and 3 (or perhaps only vol. 3?) are entitled 釋現世之生業 and/or 釋現時過活. This matches well the title 解明今世中正事業 of Part III of the Kuei-chen yao-tao (my no.13, the other translation), in 20 sections, and cf. description by Palladius "sur les faits de la vie actuelle" (Majerczak, p. 140). I noted also that section 6 in the Paris manuscript was about the Nafs "Soul", as is III, 6, in the Kuei-chen yao-tao.

Though further comparison is needed between the extant Kuei-chen yao-tao translated by Wu Tzu-hsien and the Paris manuscript, and also with a Persian original and Palladius's description, this Paris manuscript must surely be related to the copy Palladius (or his editor Adoratski<sup>4</sup>) saw. Abū-Bakr <sup>C</sup>Abdallāh b. M. b. Šāhāwar ar-Rāzī (known also as) Nağmaddīn Dāya ar-Rāzī al-Asadī, 1168-1256, was of Teheran of the Kubrāwīyya order (see Anne-Marie Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam, 1975, pp. 254-8; and, for further references, Leslie and Wassel).

14. (Cheng-chiao) Hsiu-chen meng-yin (正教)修真蒙引 by Wu Tzu-hsien.

Preface by Ma Shih-chang 馬士章, 1672.

Preface by Sha Ping 沙炳, 1673.

Instructions by Chou Shih-ch'i 周士騏, 1672.

Preface by Shen Mou-chung 沈懋中, 1720.

1 chüan, 60 sections, 87 folios?; editions 1836, 1842, 1904, 1921. There are also later prefaces during Ch'ien-lung: Chou Chieh (grandson of Chou Shih-ch'i), 1744; Chiang Yüan-lung 蔣元龍, 1775; Li T'ing-hsiang 李廷祥 (and sons), 1780; Shen Feng-i 沈鳳儀, 1835.

See article by C.F. Hogg, 1891. Pai Shou-i has made an oversight in attributing this work to Ma Chün-shih.

- 14a. Ch'ing-chen meng-yin 清真蒙引

Listed by Yüan, this surely refers to the above work by Wu. In Wu's work, besides the above prefaces, there is a preface to this second title, allegedly by its author Shen Feng-i 沈鳳儀, which mentions Wu Tzu-hsien and my no. 14 and also the 1720 preface to it by Shen's great grandfather Shen Mou-chung (and incidentally Sun K'o-an's no. 32 to which Shen Mou-chung also wrote a 1720 preface). Shen Feng-i edited nos. 14 and 32 and no 54, around 1835-8, and can hardly have been author of 14a already named by Yüan Kuo-tsu in c. 1780.

15. Chiao-k'uan chieh-yao 教款捷要 by Ma Po-liang 馬伯良.

Listed by Yüan, "Engraving blocks in Ching-k'ou 京口 (near Chinkiang?)" , this has the Persian title Muhimmāt ("Duties"), according to the Mosque catalogue. Was it a translation?

Preface by author, 1678.

22 chüan + appendix, (28 +) 12 + 103 folios.

Editions are: 1780, 1817, 1839, 1867, 1871, 1874, 1879, 1918.

The 1817 Canton edition (in B.M., London), includes 28 folios of Edicts as a pre-volume (also found elsewhere, see my section no. 7). The 1839 edition (held in Ecole, Paris) gives Chinese transliterations for the numerous Arabic terms interspersed throughout the work.

Saguchi, pp. 491, 500, mentions the Muhimmāt, but without linking it to this work (translated) by Ma. Mason, no. 45, lists a Ching-wen mu-hsi ma-t'ai, which may well refer to the Arabic text.

See article by Reichelt and Cotter, 1920. They mention a preface by Ma Chien-chi, relation of the author, but this is probably a mistake, referring to the 1839 preface.

16. Hsing-mi lu 醒迷錄 by She Yün-shan 舍蘊善

Neither Liu Chih nor Yüan list this work, but according to Chin Chi-t'ang, p. 202, and Fu T'ung-hsien, p. 156, this was a translation by She (in 1679, according to Fu), known as translator of no. 17.

This title was listed in the Niu-chieh mosque catalogue, with Persian title Munabbihāt ("Warnings"), and a text in Arabic script of identical title. L. Bouvat, RMM 4 (March 1908), p. 521, lists a Mounabbih al-Ghafilin as held in the San-li-ho mosque near Peking (a work of asceticism).

Is the Chinese work extant? A work of identical title, 1919, 35 folios, is held in various libraries (e.g. Ecole, Paris, A.N.U., Canberra), but this seems to be a Buddhist work. The Dairen library held a Hsing-mi yao-lu 要錄, 26 folios, 1916, translated by Su Te-ling 蕭德玲.

16a. Chio-shih shen-mi lu 覺世審迷錄

Mason, "Supplementary Notes", FOM 11/1 (Jan. 1937), no. 96a, lists this, 1679, 76 pages, "a translation of Mu Nan Pi Ha T'i". Surely this is the same work as that seen by Fu? The Tenri catalogue, p. 231 (and the Japanese Union Catalogue of 1961, p. 258) lists a Chio-shih hsing-mi lu 覺世省迷錄, Mo-nan-pi-ha-tai, 1 + 4 + 33 folio (i.e. 76 pages), reprint 1927, also presumably the same. Mason, no. 221, gives another work which may also be the same: Mo-an-pi-ha-t'ai (or Mo-nan-pi-ha-t'e) 醒世真言 "True words to arouse the world", 70 page translation, 1909 (or 1908) Tientsin edition. A work in Arabic script, 36 folios, the Mu-nan-pi-ha-ha, Chio-shih pao-chen 覺世寶箴, "Treasury for awakening the world", held in the Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, must surely be this Munabbihāt.

We need to compare these versions, if available, with one another and also with Palladius's descriptions of my nos. 24, 25, which may be connected. One definite possibility is the work by Nağmaddīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'O. b. M. b. A. b. Luqmān an-Nasafī al-Māturīdī, 1068-1142 (Bröckelmann, SI 762).

17. Yen-chen ching 研真經 by She Yün-shan.

This is one of two translations of the Persian Maqsad i Aqsā "The Highest Aim", as Palladius, p. 198 (Majerczak, pp. 116-7, Panskaya, p. 78) states. The Yen-chen ts'ui-yu (研真脞語?), in 8 parts, 2 + 44 folios, is a translation by She Yün-shan (known elsewhere, see my no. 16, dated 1679?) of the same work as the following translation. This claim is strongly supported by Liu Chih's hsing-li list which equates the Yen-chen ching with the Maqsad.



17a. Kuei-ch'en pi-yao 歸真必要 by P'o Na-ch'ih 破衲

癡

Yüan equates this and not no 17. with the Maqsad, an identification clinched by Palladius, pp. 198, 435-442 (Majerczak, pp. 116-7, 147-9, Panskaya, p.78), who quotes from the text (no longer extant?) that it is the Mo kao so tai ngai kai sa by Ou sair Nai sai fei, i.e. the Maqsad i Aqsā, a Sufi work by 'Azīz b. Muḥammad an-Nasafī, died 1263 or 30 years later, of the Kubrāwīyya (see Leslie and Wassel).

The Mosque catalogue lists a Maqsad al-Aqsā in Arabic script. There is a translation from the Persian by E.H. Palmer, Oriental Mysticism, 1867 (1938 reprint, xiv + 84 pages), Cambridge, in 5 sections (Palmer wrongly says that the original was Turkish).

Unfortunately, neither 17 nor 17a is available (or extant?) for comparison with the Persian or English translation. However, the description by Palladius of the Kuei-ch'en pi-yao he saw, in 5 parts, (7 + 77 folios), does match Palmer's paraphrased translation. We need also to check Liu Chih's 14 citations (or quotations) from the Yen-ch'en ching in the pen-ching to his hsing-li. Palladius alone gives the name of the translator.

The Chinese characters for P'o Na-ch'ih, author of my no.28a, are given by P'ang Shih-ch'ien in Hui-tsu, 1974, p. 196, and Tenri catalogue, p. 233 (and Union catalogue, p. 273).

18. Cheng-ch'iao chu-ni (Cheng-chiao chu-i?)

According to Palladius, pp. 192-3, 372-3 (Panskaya, p. 73, Majerczak, pp. 114, 123-4), this anonymous work, in two parts, (9 + 16 folios?), has a 1679 preface and a postscript by the author. Another copy with preface, of 1688, is in 14 + 15 folios. There is a note by Chou Yeh-huo (Chao Yai-ho, Majerczak).

Not known to other scholars, is this extant in China (or Russia)?

19. Ch'ing-ch'en chih-nan 清真指南 "The Compass of Islam" by Ma Chu 馬注.

Yüan lists "engraving blocks held in Kwangtung; suffered in flood"; A Jih-fu calls it a translation.

Prefaces and other sections by Ma Chu, Sayyid, dated 1683, 1707.

Preface by Ma Ch'eng-yin 馬承蔭, 1681; by Pao T'ien-tso (or Tso Pao-t'ien) 保天佐, 1688.

8 chüan + 2 supplements (1707), over 1700 pages; editions 1869, 1870, 1885, 1811, 1828, 1884, 1872, 1873.

The 1811 edition includes a Pa by Yüan Kuo-tsu (Liu Chih's editor).

The first volume includes 8 sections of prefaces, autobiography (of Yusuf), and other historical and biographical material, including essays of greeting from 21 friends (see my Introduction, pp. 7-9). A Xerox copy of this one volume was recently published in Taiwan.

See article by M. Hartmann, 1913; Palladius, pp. 307-341 (not in Majerczak); and d'Ollone, passim.

19a. (Ch'ing-chen) Chih-nan yao-yen (清真) 指南要言.

A revised and summarised version, by Ma Fu-ch'u and Ma An-li, 1864. Includes some of the prefaces of No. 19.

Four chüan, two parts, 430 pages, (other editions 1874, and 1926). Cf also Mason, No. 28, for a short work of this title.

19b. Tso-tao t'ung-hsiao 左道通曉 .

This is vol. 10 of No. 19, 29 folios, dated 1710. Tenri holds this, but we should note that the Jimbun copy lacks this part - does Tenri simply hold the missing part? Was it ever published as a separatum?

Includes some history.

20. Hsien-yang wang fu-tien (kung-) chi 咸陽王撫滇 (功)續 by Liu Fa-hsiang 劉發祥 .

Preface by author, of Yün-nan-fu, 1684. 12 folio, 1877 reprint. He was a chiao-yü 教諭 of Kunming.

A biography of the famous Sayyid Edjell, Governor of Yunnan during the Yüan.

Translated by Lepage in RMM 11 (May 1910), pp. 1-31, and expanded in d'Ollone, pp. 50-82.

Tazaka, p. 1698, says that its actual authorship is obscure. Is he Liu Ching-kung 敬公, chiao-yü in Kunming?

21. Huan-yü shu-yao 寰宇述要

According to Hajji Yussuf Chang (Chang Chao-li 張兆理), "A Bibliographical Study of the History of Islam in China", M.A. Thesis, McGill, Montreal, 1960, No. 735, following Ch'en Yü-ching 陳裕菁, Liu Fa-hsiang wrote a work of this title. The extant work is usually accepted as by Ma Fu-ch'u in 1862 (see Mason, nos. 155, 267), though the 1919 edition also carries the name of Liu Chih, giving some support to authorship by Liu, whether Fa-hsiang or Chih.

Liu Chih's hsing-li lists a Huan-yü shu 寰宇述 as equivalent to erh-lin-ya-fa-ko 二林亞法脰, i.e. ʿIlm al-afāq ("science of the world"); and a Huan-yü shu-chieh 解 as che-han-ta-ni-shih 哲罕打尼識 i.e. Ġahān dānish (Persian, "world science"). The Bibliothèque Nationale (Blochet Catalogue no. 776) has this Persian work with a title T'ien-hsüeh 天學 "Study of Heaven". The Mosque catalogue gives Arabic title Taisīr ("explanation") for Ma Fu-ch'u's translation.

It seems likely that an early work, perhaps a translation, was actually produced.

22. Chiao-k'uan wei-lun 教款微論 by Mi Wan-chi 米萬濟 .

Discussed by Chin Chi-t'ang, p. 201, followed by Fu T'ung-hsien, pp. 158-160, and Pai Shou-i, 1946, pp. 46-7, and by Hajji Chang, No. 794. Mi Wan-chi was a colleague of Ma Po-liang, author of the 1678 Chiao-k'uan chieh-yao (my no. 15, note the similar title). There is a preface, dated 1691, by Ting P'eng 丁澎 (chin-shih of 1655), and one by the author, quoted by Fu T'ung-hsien.

Japanese and western scholars do not mention it. Is it extant in China, seen by one or more of the above Chinese scholars?

23. Ch'ing-chen chiao-shuo 清真教說 by Liu San-chieh 劉三傑 .

Alternative title is Ch'ing-chen shih-i shuo 釋疑說 . This short work by Liu San-chieh, father of Liu Chih, thus dateable to the end of the 17th Century, is found as a separatum but also reprinted in several extant works, including the "Prophet", vol. 20, pp. 22a-25b, and my no. 54a. See translation by F. Madeley in M. Broomhall, Islam in China, 1910, pp. 303-6.

24. Chih-mi chi 指迷集 .

Liu Chih's tien-li lists the Irshād as Chih-mi chi. Now Palladius, pp. 193, 286, 443-452 (Majerczak, pp. 114-5, 149-154, Panskaya, pp. 74, 85-6), discusses two works under the title (or associated with) Irshād ("Guide"), a Hsing-shih shu and a Chih-shih shu, with translations "Le réveil du monde par la vraie religion" and "Indication aux aveugles" (Majerczak).

I believe Palladius's second work, the Chih-shih shu is the Chih-mi chi, translation of the Irshād. Palladius describes it as 7 chapters, 65 folio. Is there any possibility that the next work is by the same Persian author? Or has Adoratskii garbled Palladius's descriptions, labelling both "du même auteur" and named Irshād by mistake? Are they perhaps by the same translator? Are they extant? A translation l-lei-sha-te, 1934, is held in the Diet Library, Tokyo (see Union list, p. 258).

The Irshād appears in Iwamura's lists, I, pp. 97-100; and is also in Bouvat's lists (RMM 6, Dec. 1908, p. 704, and 4, March 1908, p. 521) as "conduite dans la droite voie". Bouvat suggests Irchād al-Khalaīk, but this is not established. Another possibility is the (extant) al-Irshād ilā ma'rifa nagalat al-akhbār by al-Khalil b. 'Abd Allāh Ya'la al-Khalīlī al-Qazwīnī (d. 1054). Saguchi, p. 491, notes an Irshād al-Muslimin by Hajm (i.e. Nağm) ad-Dīn an-Nasafī, author of a Munabbihāt (cf. my no. 16).

25. Hsing-shih lu 醒世錄

Liu Chih's tien-li list equates this with the Tanbīh "Warnings". It is likely that Palladius's Hsing-shih shu "Le réveil du monde", preface by author Po-hsia in 1702, 15 + 81 folios (1815 edition), rather than being of the Irshād (see previous entry), is a translation of this Tanbīh, or of the Munabbihāt (see my no. 16).

This Tanbīh is presumably the (extant) Persian Sufi work, Tanbīh al-Gāfilīn by Abū'l-Lait Nasr ibn Mohammed ibn Ibrāhīm As-Samarqandī (al-Hanāfi) (or Abū'l-Qasim Abū Bakr, al-Laitī as-Samarqandī), (d. 983), a work formerly held in the Chiao-tzu lu-t'ung ( 教子胡同 ?) and San-li-ho 三里河 mosques (in and near Peking) (see L. Bouvat, RMM 4, March 1908, p. 521, and RMM 6, Dec. 1908, p. 704, and cf. Tazaka, p. 1266). Kuwata, 1933, p. 345, dates this as 986-1002.

A comparison of Palladius's descriptions of nos. 24 & 25 (if not Chinese copies) and Persian originals may one day settle the matter. See also Leslie and Wassel,

26. Chen-ching chu 真經註

This is the Chinese translation of Tafsīr "Commentary (to the Quran)". Several are listed as sources in Liu Chih's hsing-li and tien-li, notably of Qāḍī, Zāhid and Baṣā'ir (see Kuwata, 1933, pp. 335-6, Leslie and Wassel).

Moreover, Liu, in the pen-ching to his hsing-li, and Hei, in his 1707 Instructions, mention a chen-ching chu, possibly as a group rather than one in particular. However, we have no real evidence that any were ever actually translated into Chinese.

27. Chen-ching chao-wei 真境昭微

Yüan lists this title "which is the Lawā'ih", confirmed by the text itself, or rather its 1751 preface by P'eng Hui-o 彭輝夢, which names as author Ch'a-mi 查密, i.e. Jāmī, of T'ien-fang "Arabia". Further confirmation is given by Liu Chih's tien-li and hsing-li lists which equate the Lawā'ih with Chao-wei ching 昭微經. Ch'a-mi (Jāmī) is incidentally mentioned in the 1704 preface by Yüan to the hsing-li together with the Lawā'ih, though not necessarily associated.

The Niu-chieh mosque catalogue lists a Chao-wei ching, Arabic title Lawā'ih, with translator Liu Chih. The extant 1925 text gives Liu I-ts'an 劉一參. If such a man existed, he would presumably have been a cousin of Liu Chih, Liu I-chai 一齋. However, I am inclined to agree with Chin Chi-t'ang, 1935, p. 201, that Liu Chih himself was the translator, I-ts'an a mistake for I-chai. The 1775 preface, by Wei Kang 危烟, mentions Yüan Kuo-tsu, Liu's editor, and Yüan, in his 1785 postscript to Liu's "Prophet", mentions this work, seemingly as by Liu Chih.

Prefaces, 1751, 1775: 1 chüan, 36 sections, 7 + 64 + 5 pages; 1925 edition.

The Lawā'ih "Flashes of Light" by Nūr ad-Dīn 'Abdar-Rahmān Ḡāmī an-Naqšbandī (died c. 1492) is a Persian Sufi work (mentioned in 1707 by Hei Ming-feng). There is an English translation Lawā'ih, a treatise on Sufism, 1906, by E.H. Whinfield and Mīrzā Muḥammad Kazvinī, text + translation, 71 + 56 pages (B.M. Catalogue, not seen), which may be checked against Liu's Chinese translation and the original.

E. Blochet (in d'Ollone, p. 286) describes a Kansu copy in Arabic script (and see also Iwamura, I, pp. 97-100, and Saguchi, 1950, p. 492, for copies in Mongolia). See also Kuwata, 1933, p. 337, Tazaka, pp. 1286-7, J. Ford, p. 151, Leslie and Wassel.

28. Fei-yin ching 費隱經

According to Liu Chih's hsing-li list this is the e-shih-erh 額史通. In his pen-ching, Liu Chih cites or quotes this 14 times, and Hei Ming-feng mentions it as a basic (Sufi) work. Yüan Ju-ch'i in his 1704 preface to the hsing-li, mentions Ġāmī and also the Lawa'ih (by Ġāmī) and this E-shih-erh, though not stated to be by Ġāmī.

We should reject the suggestion by Kuwata, 1933, p. 337 (and see also Tazaka, p. 1287), that this should read Asrār "secrets", for we have (hsing-li list no. 16) the far more convincing transcription e-ssu-la-erh for asrār. We must come down firmly on the side of the Aṣi'at al-Lama'āt, "Rays of Splendour", written by the Persian Sufi poet Ġāmī an-Naqṣbandī (author of our no. 27, above), in 1481 (see E. Blochet, Catalogue des manuscrits persans, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1934, nos. 125, 1676, 1993). This longer title is actually given in Arabic in the Canberra copy of the hsing-li. This must surely be the commentary by Ġāmī to the Lama'āt of Fahraddīn 'Irāqī, died 1289.

28a. E-shen-erh-ting 額慎嘸亭

According to the Tenri catalogue p. 233, (and Japanese Union List p. 273), a work of this title, in 2 vols., 1930, by Cha-mi the honourable 咋密尊, translated by P'o Na-ch'ih (translator also of my no. 17a), is extant. P'ang Shih-ch'ien (in Hui-tsu., p. 196) gives 昭元密訊 "secrets for illuminating the mysterious" as the meaning, and identifies it as the Aṣi'at al-Lama'āt by Ġāmī.

H. Blodget, JAOS 8 (1966), p. xxii, saw this work in Arabic script in China, as did Bouvat and Iwamura; (and see also Pai Shou-i, 1944, p. 34, Saguchi, p. 492, Imanaga, p. 58, and Tazaka, p. 1263).

This Tenri translation needs to be checked against the original Persian work.

29. Ko-chih ch'üan-ching 格致全經

According to Liu Chih's hsing-li, this is the Mo-wa-chi-fu 默瓦吉福, i.e. the Mawāqif; his tien-li list names instead ko-chih ching-chieh 格致經解 as Ṣarh Mawāqif "Commentary to the Mawāqif". Hei Ming-feng mentions this as a mystical work. (Kuwata, 1933, p. 344, writes Mawahib, which is surely wrong).

This work and my no. 30 are mentioned by Liu Chih in his preface to the "Prophet" as obtained in Shensi in 1721 (as noted by Saguchi, p. 498, and Tazaka, p. 1272). This presumably refers only to manuscripts in Arabic script. We have no real evidence that a Chinese translation was made.

Is this the Mawāqif by al-Niffarī, died 965? See A.J.

Arberry, The Mawāqif and Mukhātabāt of Muhammad ibn 'Abdi' l-Jabbār al-Niffarī, 1935. Perhaps more likely is the work by 'Aḍud ad-Dīn al-Iḡī 'Abdar-Raḥman b. Ahmad, died 1355.

30. Jen-ching ching 人鏡經

This was mentioned by Liu Chih in his "Prophet", section 著書迷 in preface volume (as noted by Saguchi, p. 498, and Tazaka, p. 1272) as obtained in 1721 in Shensi. A Jen-ching 人鏡 is listed in Liu Chih's hsing-li as 米拉士引撒尼 Mir'āt al-insān ("Mirror of Man"). Not extant, probably never translated into Chinese.

31. Li-fa cheng-tsung 理法正宗

This is listed by Yüan as a manuscript, and mentioned by A Jih-fu. Liu Chih, in his tien-li list, gives this, though with 禮 for 理 as the Hidāya. Ford, p. 151, following Kuwata, 1933, p. 338, and Bouvat, RMM 4 (March 1908), p. 518, rightly says it is the famous Hanafite work, by Burhān ad-Dīn 'Ali b. Abū Bakr al-Marghīnānī (d. 1197). See also Saguchi, p. 488. The Wiqāya, (a Šarh al-Wiqāya is listed by Liu Chih), is a well known commentary to the Hidāya and has been translated in the 20th Century by Wang Ching-chai 王靜齋 ). The Chinese translation of the Hidāya is not extant.

32. Ch'ing-chen chiao-k'ao 清真教考 by Sun K'o-an 孫可庵 .

Preface, 1720, by Shen Mou-chung 沈懋中 .

(In two parts) 11 + 33 + 60 folios; editions of 1838, 1921, 1738.

This is a collection of 32 sources found in Chinese historical and geographical works relating to Islam and the Middle East written in pseudo-archaic characters (with a key as an appendix). I have given (in my section 6) a comparison with the similar and readable collection of Liu Chih in vols. 19 and 20 of his "Prophet"; cf. Palladius, pp. 457-463 (not in Majerczak).

In Liu's "Prophet", vol. 20, is a 1634 preface to a work of this identical title, but this seems to refer to an earlier different no longer extant book (see my no. 1). The Jesuits recorded this title in 1705 (see my Introduction note 5) though it is again not very likely that they are referring to the extant work, which is probably only found as part of a joint work with the following. However, Shen Feng-i 沈鳳儀, who edited the 1838 version, wrote in a preface to my 14a of a 60 page version, i.e. without 32a.

32a. (Hui-wen) Sheng-yü kuang-hsün (回文) 聖諭廣訓

This collection of Imperial Edicts from 1729-1784 (Shang-yü 上諭 ) perhaps does not exist as a separatum. It is found as part of the 1838 (and 1921) edition of the above, edited by Shen Feng-i 沈鳳儀, but also as a 28 folio section attached to several other works, and also in Liu Chih's "Prophet", preface volume. See my section 7 for details. The Dairen library apparently held a 113 folio work with this title. However, this may simply refer to the joint work, including 32 and 32A.

33. T'ien-fang hsing-li (t'u-chuan or t'u-shuo) 天方性理  
(圖傳 or 圖說) by Liu Chih 劉智.

Listed by Yüan "engraving blocks held in Ching-k'ou 京口  
(near Chinkiang?)", and as a translation according to A Jih-fu.  
It includes extensive comments to each section by Hei Ming-feng,  
the basic text pen-ching 本經 being by Liu. This is Liu's  
philosophical and cosmological work.

Prefaces are:

Liu Chih. Undated.

Yüan Ju-ch'i 袁汝琦 1704 (as elder, fu 父)

Liang P'an-shang 梁潘賞, 1704.

Hsü Yüan-cheng 徐元正, 1708. Non-Muslim chin-shih of  
1685, son of 1673 chin-shih Hsü Cho 倬.

Wang Tse-hung 王澤弘, 1707. Non-Muslim chin-shih of  
1655, died in Nanking at 83.

Hei Ming-feng 黑鳴鳳, 1710.

Ting Hsien 丁灝, 1712 (at 76).

Yü Chieh 俞楷. Undated.

Instructions by Li Feng-wu 李封五, Ma Yao-huan 馬耀  
寰 and Hei Ming-feng, undated.

Pa by Hei (now of Chao-yang 朝陽), undated.

Pa, 1760 by T'an 談.

Pen-ching (5 chang 章) + 5 chüan, 60 sections, 35 + 207  
folios; editions 1760, 1822, 1863, 1866, 1871, 1922, 1923, 1862,  
1876, 1905, 1921, 1924, 1939, 1869, 1874, 1931, 1933.

The 1822 edition has a list of names of associates and  
editors following the preface by Liang. My no. 54a includes

the prefaces by Hsü and Wang. Ma Fu-ch'u wrote in 1864 a  
commentary to vol. 5 (see Vissière in D'Ollone, pp. 398-9).

See Palladius, pp. 288-306 (not in Majerczak).

33a. (T'ien-fang) Hsing-li pen-ching chu-shih (天方) 性理  
本經註釋 by Hei Ming-feng 黑鳴鳳.

This is a separate work, though linked to the previous  
work of Liu Chih, itself edited by Hei.

Preface by Ch'iu Chao-ao 仇兆鰲 (non-Muslim chin-shih  
of 1685), in 1707; and author's preface. These prefaces are  
held (without the text) in Ecole, Paris, and in New York Public  
Library.

5 chüan, 92 folios; editions 1875, 1884, 1926, 1740.

34. (T'ien-fang) Tzu-mu chieh-i (天方) 字母解義 by  
Liu Chih.

Listed by Yüan, A Jih-fu says this was shown to the Ch'ien-  
lung Emperor in 1782. Editions 1823, 1863, 1879, 1894. 1 chüan,  
24 folios; 1710 preface by author.

A supplement attributed to Liu's father Liu San-chieh is  
included in some editions. See article by A. Forke, T'oung Pao,  
1907. This is my no. 23.

35. Wu-kung shih-i 五功釋義 (compiled) by Liu Chih.

Another title is Li-shu wu-kung-i 禮書五功義 .

Listed by Yüan, shown to Ch'ien-lung in 1782, according to A Jih-fu. Preface 1710, by Yü Chieh, tzu Ch'en-fang 俞楷 (陳芳). Printed and checked in 1768, by Ku Ch'ang-fa 賈長發 and Wang Yung-an 王永安 .

1 chüan, 63 sections, 2 + 28 folios? : editions 1920, 1924, 1832, 1851, 1919, 1926, 1931, 1852, 1908. This was reputedly published, in 1852 and 1921, bound together with Wang Tai-yü's Ch'ing-chen ta-hsüeh under the title Ch'i-meng yao-lüeh (see my nos. 7, 7a). Copies I have seen with this title have only Wang's work.

36. T'ien-fang tien-li (tse yao-chieh) 天方典禮(擇要解) by Liu Chih.

Alternative titles are T'ien-fang li-ching 天方禮經 and Tien-li pen-ching 典禮本經. This is Liu's "Laws and Rituals of Islam".

Prefaces are:

Liu Chih. Undated (after 1706).

Lu Yu 鹿祐, c. 1708. Lu was (non Muslim) chin-shih of 1682, of Ying-chou 潁州 fu (Anhwei).

Hsü Cho 徐倬, 1709. (Non-Muslim) chin-shih of 1673 (died at 89 in 1711), of Te-ch'ing 德清 hsien, Chekiang.

Ching Jih-chen 景日珍, c. 1707. (Non-Muslim) chin-shih of 1691, of Teng-feng 登封 hsien, Honan.

Yang P'ei-lu 楊裴萊. Undated. Of Shan-yang 山陽 .

Pa, 1710, by Ting Ch'eng-lung 定成隆 of Chiang-hsia

江夏 (Wuchang), Hupei.

20 chüan + extra chüan, 31 + 259 folios; editions 1862, 1871, 1922, 1923, 1953, 1970, 1740, 1909, 1918, 1924, 1822, 1874, 1948.

This was the only Muslim work to be included in the Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu in 1782. See notice in Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu ts'ung-mu t'i-yao 四庫全書總目提要 (p. 2640 of 1971 edition; available also as p. 11075 of the 1970 edition of the tien-li). It is also the only Muslim work to appear in a non-Muslim ts'ung-shu, the Chin-ling ts'ung-shu 金陵叢書 (and in a Taipei 1970 reprint).

In chap. 1, pp. 12-15, Chi-lan 集覽, are found a few of the valuable historical accounts collected in Liu's "Prophet", vols. 19, 20 (see my section 6). In some editions, e.g. of 1871, there is a list of Liu Chih's associates and editors. My 54a includes the prefaces by Lu, Hsü and Ching.

See articles, by C.F. Hogg, 1891, Nohara, 1940, Kadono, 1940; and Palladius, pp. 249-287 (not in Majerczak).

37. (Yü-lan) (T'ien-fang) Chih-sheng shih-lu (nien-p'u) (御覽)(天方)至聖寶錄(年譜) "Biography of the Prophet" by Liu Chih.

This has the Arabic (or Persian) title Tarğamah i Mustafā "Biography of the Prophet", given by Liu in his preface and in his tien-li and hsing-li. A Jih-fu calls it a translation, and this is likely for the body of the work.

I suggest as the original the Tarğamah i Maulūd i Mustafā, a Persian translation (made by his son 'Afīf) of 1358, from the Arabic original by Sa'īd ad-Dīn M. b Mas'ūd b. M. al-Kāzarūnī, died 1357.



As the Yü-lan in the title suggests, it was presented to Ch'ien-lung, in 1782. Liu's largest work.

Finished by Liu between 1721 and 1724, it was printed by Yüan Kuo-tsu 袁國祚 only in 1778-1785.

Prefaces:

Liu Chih, undated

Sai Yü 賽璵, 1775 (at 80)

Ma Shih-fang 馬士芳, 1776

Kai Shao-hsien 改紹賢, 1777

Yüan Kuo-tsu, 1778, 1784

Wang Tsun 王懋, 1783

Postscripts, 1785 and undated, by Yüan Kuo-tsu, who also added other pieces, in particular (in certain editions, e.g. 1874) a T'ien-fang ch'ün-shu hsü 天方群書序, the list of works I have referred to in my introduction. In it, Yüan writes of this work "engraving blocks held at present in Ching-k'ou (i.e. near Chinkiang?).".

Pre-volume + 1 + 20 volumes; editions 1827, 1872, 1874, 1924, 1858, 1910, 1914, 1925, 1875, 1877.

Its pre-volume includes Imperial edicts and memorials by Manchu Governor-general Sa-tsai 薩載, provincial governors Chu Ch'un 朱椿, Pi Yüan 畢沅, and others, mainly around 1780-4 (see my section 7); its vols. 19 and 20 are invaluable for inscriptions and other historical sources (see my section 6).

Partial translations are by I. Mason in 1921 (see also invaluable review by P. Pelliot, T'oung Pao 21, 1922, pp. 413-425); and, more extensive, by Tanaka Ippei 田中逸平 in 1930. Palladius, 1877 article, pp. 204-248 (and 1887, not in Majerczak) gives a detailed analysis. Chao Chen-wu 趙振武, in 1937, wrote a Chih-sheng shih-lu chi-nien chiao-k'an chi 記年

校勘記

, correcting Liu Chih's mistakes in chronology.

37a. Chih-sheng tsan 至聖讚

This is volume 17 of the above, actually written by Ma Chu 馬注, commentary by Liu Chih. Mason, no. 33, lists it as a separatum, 11 pages. It is reprinted in the Chu-T'ien ta-tsan chen-ching 祝天大讚真經, 1863 (Mason no. 298).

37b. Shih-lu pao-hsün 寶錄寶訓

This is by Ma Fu-ch'u 馬復初 in 1858, 22 folios, though slightly based on Liu Chih and with his name on the cover. See Mason, no. 240.

38. T'ien-fang (yu-i) san-tzu-ching (chu-chieh) 天方 (幼義) 三字經 (註解)

There are several works with this title (or permutations). One is undoubtedly by Liu Chih, possibly edited later (and with commentary; and cf. my no. 11). 32 folios?

Yüan lists this as "reprinted, with printing blocks held in Ching-k'ou (near Chinkiang?).". A Jih-fu calls it a translation, Palladius (pp. 196, 372, Majerczak, p. 116) describes it as a summary of my no. 5 by Chang Shih-chung.

There is a commentary by Yüan Kuo-tsu (Liu's editor for several of his works) and a preface by Yüan in 1785 (in the 1838 edition), or possibly dated 1809 (in the 1870 edition, queried by Kuwata, 1925, p. 385). There are also editions of 1870, 1903, 1927.

See the translation by Cotter and Reichelt, in Chinese Recorder 48 (1917) (and in Moslem World 8, 1918).

Note: The attribution to Liu Chih of the T'ien-fang ssu-tzu-ching 四字經 (e.g. by Tazaka, p. 1288) seems unwarranted, and there is little reason to take it as earlier than the 19th Century.

Tanaka Ippei, 1930, p. 3, mentions a T'ien-fang li yao-chieh 天方曆要解 as by Liu, but there is no confirmation.

39. Chen-kung fa-wei 真功發微 by Liu Chih.

Yüan, though listing it among the manuscripts, adds "printing blocks held in Kwangtung". Not mentioned by A Jih-fu.

The extant work has a preface by Yüan Kuo-tsu (Liu's editor) dated 1793, and the attribution to Liu Chih by Palladius is to be accepted, even though it is referred to less than others of his works. Vissière and others attribute it to Yü Hao-chou

余浩洲 of Suchow (c. 1800?) who wrote an undated preface.

2 chüan, 48 + 70 sections, 130 folio?; editions 1857, 1893, 1884, 1916, 1838.

Includes Chinese transcriptions for Arabic terms.

Surely there is a connection with Mason, nos. 36, 37, 291 :

"Ching Han Wen Mieh T'ieh 經漢文乜帖'Arabic and Chinese Mieh T'ieh' pp. 72 also entitled Tien Kung Fa Wei 真功發微. A bi-lingual manual, setting forth the details of Moslem beliefs and practices". What is this Mieh-t'ieh? Prayers? Rituals?

There are "Instructions" 升言 by Liu Chih, called Hou-hsüeh 後學 of Shang-yüan (Nanking).

40. Hui-hui shuo 回回說 by Liu Chih.

Probably never printed as a separatum, this short work by Liu Chih is found in several works, including his "Prophet", vol. 20, pp. 26a-28b, checked by Yüan Kuo-tsu in 1778. See d'Ollone, chap. 30, pp. 420-6, "De l'origine du nom de Houei-Houei".

41. Erh-lei-pi (or T'ien-fang) ch'un-ch'iu 爾勒壁 (or 天方) 春秋 ("Arabian Spring and Autumn"). Probably by Liu Chih.

2 chüan, 25 folio. See Mason, no. 115. 1861 edition.

Translated from an unknown source, it includes names in Arabic. Pai Shou-i, 1944, p. 40, attributes it to Ma An-li.

42. Wu-keng yüeh 五更月 (probably) by Liu Chih.

Found bound with Chu-t'ien ta-tsan chen-ching 祝天大讚真經 and with Ch'ing-chen hsing-mi ko 清真醒迷歌,

16 pages. See Mason, nos. 310 and 70.

43. Li-pai t'iao-li 禮拜條例 by Liu Chih?

This is found as 18 pages in the Ch'ing-chen hsiu-tao ts'o-yao 清真修道撮要, edited by Ma Ch'i-jung 馬啟榮 or Ma T'ing-shu 馬廷樹 (cf. Mason, nos. 72, 210), 152 pages, 1920. Is it from the tien-li?

44. Jen-li ch'ieh-yao 認禮切要

Listed by Yüan, possibly as a book, "printing blocks in Ching-k'ou 京口 (near Chinkiang?)", but almost certainly not extant.

There is a work of the same or similar title, 26 pages, by the 20th Century writer and compiler Ma Ch'i-jung 馬啟榮, held in Toyo Bunko, Tenri and Berkeley; and cf. Mason, nos. 184, 186. But this is probably unconnected with the earlier work.

45. San-i t'ung-chieh 三一通解

Listed by Yüan as a manuscript, mentioned by A Jih-fu as a translation. Not extant.

46. Hsien-hsien yen-hsing lu 先賢言行錄

Listed by Yüan as a manuscript, mentioned by A Jih-fu as a translation. Almost certainly not extant.

47. T'ien-fang hsüeh-hui 天方學彙

Listed by Yüan as a manuscript, mentioned by A Jih-fu as a translation. Not extant.

48. Ch'ien-wen lu-chi 千問錄記

Listed by Yüan as a manuscript, mentioned by A Jih-fu as a translation. Not extant.

49. Wan-wu kuei-yüan 萬物歸源

Listed by Yüan as a manuscript. Not mentioned by A Jih-fu (or, incidentally, by Mason). Not extant.

50. Cheng-yen ch'ien-shuo 証言淺說

Listed by Yüan as a manuscript "which is the She-ho-te-t'e 捨合德忒." Not mentioned by A Jih-fu. Not extant. This is clearly the Šahādāt (Brockelmann, S I 663) by al-Mālikī, died 1134.

51. T'ien-fang yüeh-shu 天方樂書

Listed by Yüan as a manuscript, mentioned by A Jih-fu as a translation. Not extant.

52. Ch'ing-chen fa-meng 清真發蒙

Listed by Yüan as a manuscript. Not mentioned by A Jih-fu. Not extant.

53. (T'ien-fang) Hui-hui yüan-lai (天方) 回回原來

Difficult to date; earliest preface date probably 1712 or 1722. 12 main sections, editions 1872, 1862, 1904, 1919, 1924, 1927, 1930, 1754, 1844, 27 folios?.

None of the many attributions are convincing, with Liu San-chieh, father of Liu Chih, as the least unlikely.

The text includes a dream of the Emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang, (627-650). The preface section mentions K'ang-hsi and two Muslim generals Ma Chin-liang 馬進良 and Yen Ting-kuo 閻定國. In many copies is an Appendix about Wang Tai-yü's (surely legendary) conversation in 1650 with a Buddhist monk.

See partial translations by Devéria, 1895, Centenaire..., pp. 312-317, Broomhall, 1910, pp. 62-7; and article in Kaikyō jijō, 1939.

Three manuscripts to mention here are:

- (a) Hui-hui shih-ju chung-kuo hsü 回回始入中國叙  
10 folios, in British Museum (a dialogue between Emperor T'ai-tsung and a Muslim sage in 628).
- (b) Tai-yü Wang-kung t'an-tao 岱輿王公談道  
4 pages, in Tōyō Bunka kenkyūjo, Tokyo University (the Appendix above).
- (c) Ho-shang tsai hui-hui wen-chiao shuo-fa 和尚在回回聞教說法  
A short Ch'ing manuscript, in Tōyō Bunka kenkyūjo.

Other works about the origin of Islam in China are similar, but of the 19th Century. See, e.g., Hsi-lai tsung-p'u 西來宗譜 by Ma Ch'i-jung 馬啟榮, 1882, 13 folios, (translated

in Mason, Arabian Prophet, 1921, pp. 265-276, or JNCBRAS 60, 1929, pp. 46-50); Hui-hui yüan-liu 回回源流 by A Jih-fu 阿日孚, 1878.

54. Ch'ing-chen shih-i 清真釋疑 by Chin T'ien-chu 金天柱.

Yüan lists this work "engraving blocks in Ching-k'ou (near Chinkiang?)" ; A Jih-fu calls it a translation.

Prefaces by Chin, 1738, and undated.

Preface by Ma T'ing-fu 馬廷輔, 1745.

Preface by Hu Hui-yüan 胡滙源, 1745.

Preface (or Pa) by Ch'en Ta-chao 陳大韶, 1738 (not in all editions).

Note by Tsung-shan 宗山 (is this Ch'en?).

Note by Ma Shih-fang 馬士芳, 1773 (in some editions only).

1 chüan, 20 + 47 folios; editions 1836, 1876, 1921, 1775,

1877, 1929, 1919.

Note that the Ch'ing-chen shih-i 清真釋義 attributed to Liu Chih almost certainly refers to this work (following a mistake by Governor Chu Ch'un 朱椿 in 1781).

See Palladius, pp. 374-383 (Majerczak, pp. 125-130).

54a. Ch'ing-chen shih-i pu-chi 清真釋疑補輯

Attributed to Chin T'ien-chu, its author or compiler was T'ang Chuan-yu 唐傳猷, tzu Chin-hui 晉徽, a Pa kung-sheng of Shantung, who wrote a preface in 1880 and Pa in 1881 and 1893 (according to Pelliot, TP 38 (1948), pp. 236-7, and Tazaka Kōdō, p. 1703). Many 19th Century Muslim degree holders occur.

It includes the prefaces of no. 54, 1738 by Chin T'ien-chu,

1738 by Ch'en Ta-chao, 1745 by Hu Hui-yüan, and implies that the text was written by Chin. However, the actual text is a different one from no. 54. Ch'en Yüan 陳元 in Tung-fang tsa-chih 東方雜誌 25/1 (1928), p. 124, comments "later men with a pu-chi have infiltrated and disturbed the text, so that one cannot distinguish which is the original text of Chin and which is the added part (pu-chi)".

In 2 parts, 65 + 78 folios; editions 1881, 1885, 1890, 1892, 1875, 1876.

Its preface volume includes Imperial edicts from 1694 to 1873; and its valuable appendix li-tai jen-wu ti-ming p'ei-wen 歷代人物地名碑文 gives a chronological collection of historical and biographical material. It also includes the prefaces by (non-Muslim) chin-shih to Liu Chih's hsing-li and tien-li.

See article in Kaikyō jijō, 1939.

55. Hsing-mi chen-yüan 省迷真原

This anonymous work seems to be early. The extant Paris copy, Ecole, catalogue no. Chi 1009 (are there other extant copies?) is in 33 sections. Adoratskii, following Palladius, pp. 200, 476 (and Majerczak, pp. 118, 160-1), describes a 1866 edition, 3 + 66 pages or folios (and cf. Mason, no. 235, 1914 edition, 76 pages). It is listed also in the Dairen library catalogue (in Shokō), which gives as editor T'ang Chuan-yu 唐傳猷 (see previous item) of the end of the Ch'ing.

56. Untitled by Yüan Tsung-yu.

According to Palladius, pp. 196, 394-6 (Majerczak, pp. 116, 130-1), this is a 1737 ritual work, in 9 chapters, 4 + 97 folios, manuscript copy of 1838. It is otherwise unknown.

57. Chih-pen t'i-kang (or ti-an?) by Yang Shuang-shan.

According to Palladius, pp. 197, 397-414 (Majerczak, pp. 116, 131-6), there is a 1747 preface by the author, and a 1747 postscript by Ch'eng Shih-te, his disciple.

In 10 chüan, 14 chapters, 106 sections, of which 677 folios are text, 65 folios preface, etc.

Otherwise unknown, is this large book extant in China or Russia?

58. Ch'ing-chen chi-lu shan-i 清真紀錄闡義, by Mu Ju-kuei.

Alternative title Ch'ing-chen yüan-shih shan-i 清真原始闡義 (see Mason, no. 96).

This work, in 4 pen 本, 6 chüan, by Mu Ju-kuei

穆汝奎, tzu Wen-ch'i 文啟, hao Hsing-yüan

星垣, of Ch'ü-yang 曲陽 hsien, Hopei, with a postscript

of 1837 by the author's sons I-lan 藝蘭 and I-sun 藝孫, is included here because it includes earlier material similar to that in some other works.

It includes many of the edicts found in the "Prophet", etc. (see my section 7); and also extracts using similar sources to vol. 19 of the "Prophet" (see my section 6a). Several names for the early 19th Century are found in the postscript; and

a glossary of key words in Chinese transcription with Chinese paraphrase.

The manuscript at Oxford, in poor condition, is probably unique, the only copy extant.

59. Ch'ing-chen cheng-chieh 清真正解

10 folios in Arabic and Chinese. With "notes and explanations" chu-chieh 注解 by the Ch'ing-chen lao-jen 清真老人, it may be an early work, or possibly by Ma Ta-en (c. 1825).

The copy in Ecole, Paris, dated 1825, catalogue number Chi 852, bound together with my nos. 23, 34, is probably unique, the only extant copy.

BIOGRAPHIES  
OF  
LITERARY PERSONALITIES

5. Biographies of Literary Personalities

Li-yen 例言 "Instructions"

- (a) In this section, I give the names of Muslim scholars and their associates, 17th and 18th Century. Many of these are mentioned as supervisors, editors, assistants, in one or more of our Muslim books, sometimes with hao rather than ming or tzu, even in different volumes or editions of the same work<sup>14</sup>. Certain editions of Liu Chih's tien-li and hsing-li have expanded lists of these "helpers", most of whom were Muslims, on extra pages.
- (b) In addition, the lists of scholars mentioned in my Introduction, by Ma Ch'eng-yin in his 1681 preface to the "Compass", and by Ma Chu, its author, who includes greetings received around 1683, are of particular significance. Many of the other prefaces, notably in my nos. 14, 37, 54, as well as those mentioned above, give snippets of information about various scholars. Some, in particular those by Ma Chu and Liu Chih, include autobiographical material.

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14. A striking feature of our books is that the hao or tzu often comes before the hsing; e.g. we find Tai-yü WANG; Tzu-hsien WU; Yin-chai CHANG; Chung-mei MA. I have not always succeeded in deciding which name is the ming or tzu or hao. Even when we find the same surname and one character (usually the first) of the ming or tzu identical, we should beware of assuming a relationship of the same generation unless the approximate date is confirmed and they are of the same place of origin.

- (c) I have included scholars of the period who have been claimed or "annexed" by later Muslim writers as Muslims. In fact, one or two of these are unlikely to be Muslim at all. Our main proof comes from their featuring in our Muslim books.
- (d) I have not included here those mentioned in the extant Muslim chia-p'u 家譜 of the Sha 沙 and Mi 米 clans (held in the Diet Library, Tokyo), analysed by Nakada Yoshinobu 中田吉信 in Tōyō Gakuhō 東洋學報 38 (1955), pp. 89-114. The P'i-ling Sha-shih tsung-p'u 毘陵沙氏宗譜 of 1829 gives biographies of several family members from the 16th to 18th Centuries. A 1490 chin-shih is referred to, and a chin-shih relative Wu Pen-li 吳本立 of 1670. A full analysis of this large and important work, following on Nakada's brilliant pioneering study, is still required.
- (e) An analysis of surnames is important. Ma 馬, the most common surname, is also a common surname for non-Muslims. According to Iwamura, vol. 2, p. 15, the most common Muslim surnames are Ma 馬, Yang 楊, Wang 王, Pai 白, Ting 丁, Chang 張, Liu 劉, Li 李, Ho 何, Feng 馮, Ch'en 陳. Chin Chi-t'ang has given an analysis, distinguishing between surnames solely Muslim, mostly Muslim, and

Muslim surnames also common among non-Muslims<sup>15</sup>.

Those Chin states to be solely Muslim surnames are: Sai 賽, Na 納, La 喇, Ha 哈, Yü 羽, Ti 底, Ya 亞, Hsien 鮮, Hsi 喜, Ting 定, Sa 撒, Sa 薩, Hai 海, Hui 回, T'ieh 鐵, Hu 虎, T'o 脫, Chang 仇, Shan 閃, T'o 妥, To 朵, I 以, Mu 沐, Yü 玉, Pa 把, Kai 改, Mai 買, Hai 拜, Chien 剪, K'o 可, Che 者, Min 敏, Hu 忽, Pai 擺, K'ao 靠, Hei 黑, Sa 洒.

Chin also lists eleven surnames as less used by non-Muslims:

Ma 馬, Ma 麻, Yüan 宛, Man 滿, Sha 沙, Ku 古, Ting 丁, Pai 白, Hung 洪, Huang 黃, Lan 藍.

Further Muslim surnames, given by Pai, Han and Ting, are Su 速, Mu 木, Mu 穆, Mai 買, Lu 魯, So 鎖; by Chin Chi-t'ang, Chin 金, Ts'ui 崔, Chou 周; and by Iwamura (with several more) Fei 費, Cheng 鄭, Liang 梁, Han 韓, Wu 吳, Su 蕭, Shih 郝, Chung 終, Ch'iao 喬.

15. See Hui-tsu..., pp. 6-7 (from Yü-kung 5, 11). See also Iwamura, vol. 2, p. 15; and Pai Shou-i 白壽彝, Han Tao-jen 韓道仁, and Ting I-min 丁毅民, Hui-hui min-tsu ti li-shih ho hsien-chuang 回回民族的歷史和現狀, 1957, p. 5. Nakada, 1953, pp. 66-70, also has a discussion.



- (f) A few only of our scholars and writers have actual biographies devoted to them by Muslim scholars. The 19th Century collections of biographies, by Muslim authors Lan Tzu-hsi 藍子義, T'ien-fang cheng-hsüeh 天方正學, 1861, (book 7), and T'ang Chuan-yü 唐傳猷, Ch'ing-chen shih-i pu-chi 清真釋疑補輯, c. 1880, attributed to Chin T'ien-chu, my 54a (section 現代人物 地名碑文), include very few scholars apart from Wang Tai-yü. More valuable for us is the largest Muslim biographical work, Ch'ing-chen hsien-cheng yen-hsing lüeh 清真先正言行略 by Li Huan-i 李煥乙, 1875 (reprint 1917; held by the New York Public Library). Li Huan-i gives 22 biographies for the T'ang, 11 for the Sung, 11 for the Yuan, 28 for the Ming, 22 for the Ch'ing. I have included only 20, covering the 17th and 18th Century.
- (g) For non-Muslim chin-shih, who (usually in their later years) wrote prefaces to Liu Chih's tien-li and hsing-li and to some other works, we have confirmation of positions and degrees, with dates, from local gazetteers and other non-Muslim sources. Several collections of biographies are available, see, e.g., Li Huan 李桓 (1827-1891), Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-cheng ch'u-pien 國朝耆獻類徵初編, 1966 reprint, Taipei.

- (h) We can also find references for several of our Muslim scholars, notably Ting P'eng 丁澎, chin-shih of 1655, Ma Shih-chün 馬世俊, chin-shih of 1661, Hei Ming-feng 黑鳴鳳, military chin-shih of 1703, Sai Yü 賽璵, chü-jen of 1729 (honorary chin-shih of 1788?).
- (i) One of our basic problems is the decision as to whether a scholar or official mentioned is truly a Muslim. The higher the rank or degree, the more cautious we need to be. In some cases, we find a clear statement "So-and-so, a believer", in others our arguments are circumstantial. Some Muslim scholars have laid claim to the 14th Century Mu Ying 沐英, not accepted by other non-Muslim scholars. Others might suggest the chin-shih Chang Hsin 張忻 (and his chin-shih son Chang Tuan 張端) and Chan Ying-p'eng 詹應鵬, preface writers to early Muslim works. Pai Shou-i and others have taken the highly successful 1703 chin-shih Ma Ju-wei 馬汝為, one of whose books is extant, as a Muslim. I have included these in my lists, with a query.
- (j) We may hope to find tombstone and other inscriptions. We have extant tombstone inscriptions for Wang Tai-yü and Liu Chih, though not necessarily dating from the time of their death.

(k) A lot of work still remains to be done searching for further references to these and to several other Muslim chü-jen and kung-sheng in non-Muslim sources. I am confident that several of those listed below will eventually be found mentioned in early Ch'ing gazetteers, and possibly in non-official local histories. I have used mainly the provincial gazetteers, and further fu and hsien gazetteers must be searched. My references are often Taipei re-prints.

(l) Modern scholars have given us biographies of a few of the Muslim writers. Chin Chi-t'ang, 1935, pp. 199-210, Fu T'ung-hsien, 1940, pp. 104-8, 155-165, and Pai Shou-i, 1948, pp. 296-307 (and see also pp. 335-9), concentrate on literary figures. Tazaka Kōdō, 1964, pp. 1353 ff., concentrates on Wang Tai-yü and Chang Shih-chung. C.L. Pickens, "Who's Who in Chinese Islam", Friends of Moslems 19-21 (1945-7), gives short entries for several Muslims of Ming and Ch'ing. J. Ford, 1974, has short accounts of Wang Tai-yü, Ma Chu, Liu Chih, Sai Yü, and Ma Ming-hsin. Other works may be useful for one particular Muslim writer.

(m) About ten of our personalities figure in the Chung-kuo jen-min ta-tz'u-tien 中國人民大辭典, 1921 (1940 reprint). But, so far as I have noticed, not one before the 19th Century is called a Muslim (hui-jen 回人).

(n) I have not undertaken here a study of Muslim army officers, including merely those mentioned in Muslim writings. Several generals are discussed in Pai Shou-i, 1948, pp. 308-322, and Fu T'ung-hsien, pp. 151-5. A further useful survey, which concentrates on Muslim notables, mostly army officers, for whom biographies exist in non-Muslim sources, is Nakada Yoshinobu 中田吉信, "Shindai Kaikyōto no issokumen" 清代回教徒の一側面, Tōyō Gakuhō 36, (1953), pp. 66-86.

(o) I have not included those Muslims listed in inscriptions from Canton, Changan, etc. One which lists several names is the 1743 Hangchow inscription, translated by A. Vissière (and A.C. Moule) in Etudes Sino-Mahométanes, Deuxième Série, 1913, pp. 140-6. Vissière, p. 146, writes of another 1743 inscription from Hangchow, unfortunately not reproduced or translated, with a list of subscribers : "La liste comprend à peu près deux cents souscripteurs, parmi lesquels figurent d'abord quelques officiers militaires et fonctionnaires civils. On y constate la présence de ces noms de famille particulièrement fréquents chez les musulmans chinois : 馬 Ma, 丁 Ting, 耳 Eul, 沙 Cha, 木 Mou, 哈 Ha, ainsi que 顧 Kou."

(a) 17th Century

1. Ma T'ai-suo 馬太所

A chang-chiao 掌教 (community leader), maternal grand-father of Chou Shih-ch'i 周士馬其, see no. 14, 1672 "Instructions"; fl. 1614.

2. Ma Chih-yün 馬之雲

Grandfather of Ma Chu, see biography in the "Compass", 1683. Possibly related to Ma Chih-lin 之鹿麟 and Ma Chih-ch'i 之馬其.

3. Hu P'u-chao 胡普照

Called Hu T'ai-shih 太師 "Teacher", of Hsien-yang 咸陽 hsien (i.e. Sian), Shensi. Does not appear in our Muslim books. See Fu T'ung-hsien, p. 105.

4. Chan Ying-p'eng 詹應鵬

Tzu Ch'ung-nan 羽中 南, son of Chan Ni 沂, chin-shih of 1616, possibly not a Muslim, of Hsüan-ch'eng 宣城 hsien, Ning-kuo 寧國 fu, Anhwei. Chan Ni was chin-shih of 1571.

Prefect of Chia-hsing 嘉興 fu, Chekiang (and other posts) during T'ien-ch'i period (1621-8). He died at 81.

Wrote 1636 pa to my no. 2; and Pai suggests strongly that he was a Muslim.

See biography in Anhwei Provincial Gazetteer, chap. 189, p. 16a; Chekiang Provincial Gazetteer (Commercial Press), pp. 2098, 2106, 2111, 2116, etc.; Chia-hsing fu-chih, 1879, ch. 42 (Taipei reprint, p. 1023); Ning-kuo fu-chih, chap. 27 (Taipei reprint, p. 822, and see also poem by his younger brother on p. 767). For his father, see Pai, 1948, pp. 374-376.

5. Chang Hsin, tzu Ching-chih 張忻 (靜之)

Author of preface to my no. 1, dated 1634. Of Yeh 掖 hsien, Lai-chou 萊州 fu, Shantung. Chin-shih of 1625, father of Chang Tuan 張端, chin-shih of 1643, became Governor of Tientsin in the first years of the Ch'ing. It seems unlikely that he was a Muslim.

See Pai Shou-i, 1948, p. 300; and biography in Yeh hsien-chih, 1758, p. 658. On p. 914 of this gazetteer are given the titles of two books he wrote at the beginning of the Ch'ing, with prefaces to the first one by other scholars on pp. 1010-1014. See also Hopei (Chi-fu) Provincial Gazetteer (Commercial Press), p. 1073; and CKJMTT, p. 935; CSLC, 79, p. 59.

6. Chang Shao-shan 張少山

Of Lin-tung 臨潼 hsien, Shensi; fl. 1638. Mentioned in preface to no. 8 by Chang Shih-chung, as lao-shih 老師 "Teacher". (少師, as given by Chin Chi-t'ang, p. 199, etc., must surely be wrong).

7. Ma Shang-chieh 馬上捷

tzu Yün-k'o 雲客, hao Lang-hsien 閬仙.

Of Chün-tien 尋甸 hsien, Yunnan. Fl. 1638. See Pai Shou-i, 1948, p. 299, Chin Chi-t'ang, p. 208.

8. Ma Ming-yang 馬明陽

tzu I-yeh 異野 of Hsin-hsing 新興 chou, Yunnan. Chiao-shou 教授 "Director of Schools" in Shun-ning 順寧 fu, Yunnan, during Ch'ung-chen 崇禎 (1628-1644).

See Pai, p. 300.

Neither of the above appear in our Muslim works.

9. Ma Yün-ch'ü, tzu Keng-yü 馬雲衢 (廢字)  
Of Yüan-chiang 元江 chou, Yunnan; Chiao-yü 教諭  
"(district) Supervisor of Schools"; kung-sheng of T'ien-ch'i  
天啟 (1621-8). He also was magistrate of T'ien-ho 天河  
hsien, Kwangsi (The T'ien-ho hsien-chih of 1826, p. 33, says  
in Chia-ching 嘉靖 1522-1567). Biography in Yüan-chiang chih  
kao 元江志稿, p. 202. See also Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 18a-b,  
and T'ang Chuan-yu, my 54a, vol. 2, 51b. Ma does not, however,  
appear in any of our Muslim books of the early period. Is he  
related to Ma Shang-chieh, tzu Yün-k'o (see above)?

10. WANG TAI-YÜ 王岱輿, ming Tai 岱 ?; soubriquet  
chen-hui lao-jen 真回老人 "Elder of Islam", of Chiang-ning  
(Shang-yüan hsien, i.e. Nanking), Kiangsu; b. 1580? d. 1658?  
Tombstone in Peking (one dated 1894, one earlier?).

The first great Muslim writer, author of my nos. 4, 6, 7.  
There are several biographies of him, 19th and 20th Centuries;  
and also legendary accounts. He spent most of his life in Nan-  
king, but died in Peking. Ma Ta-en, 1827 preface to Liu's  
"Prophet", follows the 1657 preface to Wang's Cheng-chiao chen-  
ch'üan by Ho Han-ching and labels him as from Yangchow, also  
Kiangsu, not necessarily wrong.

Biographies are given by Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 20a-b; T'ang  
Chuan-yu, vol. 2, p. 50b; Lan Tzu-hsi, vol. 7, pp. 42-3; Chin  
Chi-t'ang in Yü-kung 7,4 (April 1937), p. 494 (followed by Fu  
T'ung-hsien, 1940, pp. 105-8); J. Ford, 1974, pp. 145-8. Tazaka,  
1964, pp. 1360 ff., has an extended discussion. See his  
p. 1427, for references to the legendary or semi-legendary  
accounts found in several almost certainly late Muslim works.

See, e.g., the section 王岱輿盤道記 found in the  
1908 Ch'ing-chen hsing-shih p'ien 清真醒世篇, pp. 8a-10a,  
(Mason, no. 71).

11. Hsieh Sun 俠遜

A poet, towards the end of the Ming, in Korea. Does not  
appear in our Muslim books.

See short biography in Li Huan-i, 2, p. 19a.

12. Ha Wei-hsin 哈維新

Army officer active in Lanchow in 1643. In 1646 a major  
Yü-chi 游擊 in Kansu. Not mentioned in our Muslim books.

See short biography in Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 21a-b.

13. Liang I-chün 梁以濬

Tzu Pu-min 逋民 ?, Of Huan-chiang 皖江 (An-ch'ing 安  
慶 fu, Anhwei). Wrote 1642 preface to Wang Tai-yü, my no. 4.

14. Ting Yen 丁彦

Tzu (or hao) Huo-hu 鶴湖 ; wrote "Instructions"  
to no. 4 (c. 1650?); and reviewed no. 6a.

15. CHANG CHUNG 張中 or CHANG SHIH-CHUNG 時中

Tzu Chün-shih 君時, hao Yin-chai 隱齋  
soubriquet Han-shan sou 寒山叟 "Elder of Han-shan", of  
Han-shan, Suchow (Ku-sou), Kiangsu; b. 1583? d. 1663?

Compiled my nos. 5, 8, the latter (dated 1661 when he  
was 78 years old) based on oral version from A-shih-ko whom  
he met in Nanking around 1638.

According to Kuwata Rokurō, "Reihaiji meguri" 禮拜寺  
巡 11, Tōyō gakuō 16 (1926), pp. 123-4, he is the Chang Chih-

chung 張志中 who wrote a 1658 stele in a Suchow mosque at 75 years. According to Pai Shou-i, 1944, p. 37, he also wrote a commentary to the Kalima, not transmitted.

There is also a link between Chang and Wu Tzu-hsien 伍子先, supposedly a disciple of Wang Tai-yü, in the "Instructions" 1672 by Chou Shih-ch'i 周士騏 to my no. 14. He is also, perhaps, the "Heavenly Master" Chang 張天師 of the preface to my no. 10, 1661, by Ma Ming-lung.

See also Tazaka, 1964, pp. 1368-1371.

16. Chang Tuan 張端

Tzu Chung-chu 中柱, chin-shih of 1643, of Yeh 掖 hsien, Lai-chou (fu) 萊州, Shantung; 1616-1654.

He is not mentioned in any of our Muslim books, and the only evidence that he might be a Muslim is that his father Hsin 忻, chin-shih of 1625, is author of a 1634 preface, our no. 1.

See Pai Shou-i, 1948, p. 300; Shantung Provincial Gazetteer, 1934 (Commercial Press), p. 5077; Yeh hsien-chih, 1758, pp. 658-9; CKJMTTT, p. 965; CSLC, 79, p. 59.

17. Ho Han-ching 何漢敬

Tzu Huai-ch'ing 淮清 ?. Wrote preface, 1657, to my no. 4.

18. Ma Hsiung 馬雄

Well-known military officer of Ku-yüan 固原 chou, Kansu, at the beginning of the Ch'ing. Commandant T'i-tu 提督 in Kwangsi, 1661, rebelled in 1674, followed Wu San-kuei 吳三桂, died in 1677 or 1678. Associated with the development of Islam in Liu-chou 柳州 fu, Kwangsi, c. 1673. Several of

the Islamic scholars received his patronage. Father of Ma Ch'eng-yin 承蔭, (adopted) son of Ma Chiao-lin 蛟麟, fl. 1650. His name occurs (as an earlier officer) in the Yung-cheng edict of 1730 together with Ma Chin-liang, fl. 1693-1707; Ha Yüan-sheng 哈元生 is mentioned as fl. 1730.

See Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 39a-b; Pai Shou-i, 1948, pp. 326 ff.; Nakada, 1953, pp. 80-1; Kwangsi Provincial Gazetteer, chap. 56, p. 3a; Ku-yüan chou-chih, 1909 reprint, vol. 5, pp. 505-6; CKJMTTT, p. 869. For other Muslim generals, see Pai's chap. 12, pp. 308-322, and Fu T'ung-hsien, pp. 151-5; CSLC 80, p. 32.

19. Chou Shih-ch'i 周士騏 (or 祺 ?) of Wu-men 吳門 (Suchow), Kiangsu.

Wrote 1672 "Instructions" to no. 14 by Wu Tzu-hsien (in which he mentioned, incidentally, Chang Shih-chung). Was given a scripture by his maternal grandfather Ma T'ai-suo in 1614, entitled Ha-t'i-sui(?) - pu-ya-na, with meaning 指頑童正道 ("The true way to direct the obstinate youth"). According to Tazaka, pp. 1370, 1379, he wrote also a preface to Chang's no. 5.

Grandfather of Chou Chieh, who also wrote a preface to my no. 14 in 1744 (see Vissière, in d'Ollone, p. 395).

20. Sha Chen-ch'ung 沙振 (or 維 or 椎) 崇 (or 宗), tzu Erh-i 二儀, of Kuang-ling 廣陵, Wei-yang (Yangchow).

Wrote preface of 1653 and postscript of 1661 to nos. 5, 8, by Chang Shih-chung, and an undated postscript to no. 12 by Ma Chün-shih.

Ch'ien-t'ang 錢塘 (Hangchow) is also mentioned.

21. Ma Shih-chang 馬士章  
Tzu Shih-ch'ü 石渠 of Ku-huan 古皖 (An-ch'ing fu, Anhwei?); wrote prefaces, 1672 to no. 14, 1678 (at 77 years old) to no. 13, both by Wu Tzu-hsien.

22. Ma Chung-lung 馬中龍  
Tzu Kung-yü 公御, of Hsin-an 新安 (Honan or Anhwei?). Associate of no. 5, by Chang Shih-chung, c. 1653-1661.

23. Ma Ming-weng 馬朋翁  
Mentioned in Chang's preface to no. 8; fl. c. 1661.  
Is this perhaps Ma Ming-lung 明龍, author of my no. 10, dated 1661?

24. Ma Shih-k'ung 馬師孔  
Father of Ma Chu (fl. 1683), see biography in "Compass".

25. Wan Ching-ho 萬景和  
Known as Wan Pa-pa 爸爸. See Chin Chi-t'ang, p. 199.  
Not in our Muslim works.

26. Chang Hsü-pai 張虛白  
Tzu Shih-ming 世明, worked in li-pu 禮部 as a Chung-shu 中書 "Secretary", c. 1630?

Employer of Ma Chu, see biography in "Compass". Not necessarily a Muslim.

27. Ch'ang Chih-mei 常志美  
Tzu Yün-hua 蘊華 (or Yung-hua 永華 according to "Compass", 1681 Preface) of Chi-ning 濟寧 chou, Shan-tung (Lu). Also called Ch'ang Hsien-hsüeh 仙學 (and Ch'ang Pa-pa 爸爸). Teacher of She Yün-shan (fl. 1679?). Associated with the New Sect. Presumably dead in 1683 (for not among greetings to "Compass").

According to Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 38a-b, Chin Chi-t'ang, p. 202, Fu T'ung-hsien, p. 156, and Pai Shou-i, 1948, pp. 335-6, he is author of my no. 9. See also Saguchi Tōru 佐口透, ("Sects in Chinese Islam"), Kanazawa daigaku hōbun gakubu ronshū, shigaku hen, no. 17 (1964), pp. 1-16 [not seen].

28. Li Ping-hsü 李秉旭  
Of Ch'in (Shensi), named as scholar in 1681 Preface to "Compass", otherwise unknown. Presumably dead in 1683 (for not among greetings).

29. Li Chih-hua 李之華  
Tzu Chung-ho 中和 of Lan-hsi 藍溪 (Fukien?); associate of Chang Shih-chung, no. 5, c. 1653-61.

30. MA MING-LUNG 馬明龍  
Soubriquet Ma Ssu Pa-pa 馬四爸爸, Arab name Muhammed al-Sahib. Of Wuchang, Hupeh (Hukwang, Ch'u), 1596-1678. (Tombstone in Wuchang?).

Author of my no. 10, dated 1661 (and cf. no. 11), also mentioned in 1681 preface to "Compass" as of Ch'u 楚. Presumably dead in 1683 (as not among greetings). His biography (though it is not clear where the information comes from) is given by Yang En-shou 楊恩壽 as an appendix to the 1919

78  
edition of Ma's no. 10. Another biography, by Lan Tzu-hsi, vol. 7, pp. 43-4, based on a tombstone in Wuchang, may be of Ma, as Tazaka, p. 1426, believes; cf. Tazaka, p. 1411.

We do best to ignore the suggestion of Chou Ming-te (19th Century, followed by Vissière) that Ma Ming-lung, associated with Ma Chün-shih, was of Ch'ien-lung. Both are clearly of Shun-chih and early K'ang-hsi. However, there are discrepancies, and it may be that more than one man is referred to.

31. MA CHÜN-SHIH 馬君實

Tzu (or ming?) Chung-hsin 忠信, of Chiang-ning (Nanking, Kiangsu). Wrote "instructions", as a fu 父 (i.e. "elder") to Wang Tai-yü's no. 6, dated 1658. He is also mentioned in the 1681 preface to the "Compass" as of Wu (Kiangsu). Presumably dead in 1683, for not among greetings. Sha Ping, fl. 1673-8, in his preface to Ma's work (my no. 12), was "of the same city, later scholar" to Ma.

We must reject the suggestion of Chou Ming-te (1892 preface to Ma's work, followed by Vissière) that Ma (and Ma Ming-lung) was of Ch'ien-lung. The statement of Ma Ta-en 馬大恩 (1827 preface to Liu Chih's Chih-sheng shih-lu), that Ma was a Ming-ching 明經, i.e. kung-sheng, of Kuan-chung (Shensi) is not substantiated.

32. Ai Yen-nien 艾延年

Ju-hsüeh 儒學 "Former Director of Studies" of Chiang-ch'uan 江川 hsien, Yunnan, sent greetings to "Compass" in 1683 at 80 years old. He was a kung-sheng of K'un-yang 昆陽 chou, Yunnan, of K'ang-hsi times, see Yün-nan fu chih (Taipei reprint), p. 289.

33. Cheng Chih-pi 鄭之璧

Of Chiang-ning (Nanking), sent greetings in 1683 (at 80 years old) to Ma Chu.

34. Cheng Ying-su 鄭應驕

Of Ku-pu 古蒲 (Hopei?).

Wrote postscript to Wang's no. 4, c. 1657.

35. WU TZU-HSIEN 伍子先

Tzu Sun-ch'ieh 遵契, of Chiang-ning (Nanking); c. 1612-1680.

Author of my nos. 13, 14. Considered a disciple of Wang Tai-yü. See Fu T'ung-hsien, p. 156.

36. Wu T'ien-hsü 伍天叙

Older brother of Wu Tzu-hsien, fl. 1672.

37. Wu Chia-hsüan 伍嘉璿

Tzu Chung-shih 中時.

Nephew of Wu Tzu-hsien, wrote Instructions of 1678, at 67 years, to no. 13. Palladius, p. 415 (Majerczak, p. 136), writes Chia-jui.

38. Wu Chih-pi 伍之璧 (or Tzu-pi 子璧?).

Tzu Lien-ch'eng 連城, also of Chiang-ning (Nanking). Reviewed Wang Tai-yü's no. 6. Was he related to Wu Tzu-hsien?

39. Sha Ping 沙炳

Of Shih-ch'eng 石城 (Nanking). Wrote prefaces of 1673 and 1678 to two of Wu Tzu-hsien's books (my nos. 13, 14), and also an undated one to my no. 12 by Ma Chün-shih, as "same village", surely Nanking. Ma and Wu are linked as disciples of Wang Tai-yü.

40. Li Yung-shou 李永壽  
Tzu Yen-ling 延齡, of Chi-shui 濟水, Chi-ning chou,  
 Shantung (Lu).  
Ming-ching i.e. kung-sheng (greetings in "Compass", 1683,  
 mentioned also in 1681 Preface); in Ma Hsiung's court. Associated  
 with Ma Po-liang, my no. 15, in 1678, as "elder" (fu 父).
41. Chiang Ch'un-hua 蔣春華  
Tzu Han-ch'en 翰臣, of Chiang-ning (Nanking). Added  
 notes to my no. 13.
42. Chiang Tzu-sung 蔣子松  
Tzu Hsiu-tung 秀冬, of Chiang-ning, also corrected no. 13.  
 But both the above may well be of a later period.
43. MA PO-LIANG  
Tzu Chung-ch'ing 忠 (or 中) 卿 of Chi-shui 濟水,  
 Chi-ning (chou), Shantung, fl. 1678. Disciple of Li Yung-shou,  
 and teacher of Liu Chih, and mentioned in "Instructions" to my no.  
 39, the Chen-kung fa-wei by Liu. Author of my no. 15.
44. Ma Chien-chi  
 Wrote preface to no. 15, c. 1678, by Ma Po-liang (according  
 to Reichelt and Cotter, Ch. Rec. 51, 1920, pp. 107-118). But  
 perhaps the 1839 preface by Ma Ch'eng-chi 馬呈祺 is meant.
45. Li Ching-ts'un 李敬存  
Tzu Kuang-ch'eng 廣成; associate of no. 15, c. 1678.
46. Ma T'eng-yün 馬騰雲  
Tzu Hsing-ch'u 星衢; associate of no. 15, c. 1678.

47. Ma Chih-lin 馬之麟  
Tzu Shih-i 事一; associate of no. 15, c. 1678.
48. Ma Hua-lung 馬化龍 (or 兆龍)  
Tzu Ming-hao 鳴皋; associate of no. 15, c. 1678.
49. Yang Chiu-en 楊九思  
Tzu Fan-hsi 藩錫; associate of no. 15, c. 1678.
50. Wen Ying-shih 文應試  
Tzu Chung-hua 仲華; associate of no. 15, 1678.
51. Mi Wan-chi 米萬濟  
Tzu Ching-kung 敬公 (Sheng-kung 聖公 is less  
 likely), a Sayyid, of Chin-t'ai 金臺 (Peking); fl. 1678-1691.  
 Associated with Ma Po-liang's no. 15. Author of no. 22,  
 according to Chin Chi-t'ang, 1935, p. 201, Fu T'ung-hsien,  
 1940, pp. 158-160, and Pai Shou-i, 1946, pp. 46-7.
52. TING P'ENG 丁澎  
Tzu Fei-t'ao 飛濤, hao Yüeh-yüan 藥園, of Jen-ho  
 仁和, Hangchow, Chekiang, (and of Chi-yang 濟陽  
hsien, Shantung?), chin-shih of 1655, rank feng-chih tai-fu  
 奉直太夫 (i.e. 5th grade, 1st rank).  
 Wrote the stele chen-chiao-ssu pei-chi 真教寺碑記,  
 dated 1670, preserved in Hangchow (and also in the "Prophet",  
 vol. 20 or 19); translated by Vissière, 1913, pp. 132-141.  
 Wrote preface to no. 3, undated, as Yüeh-yüan Ting P'eng  
 丁鵬 of Ch'ien-t'ang 錢塘 (Hangchow) (but of Chi-  
 yang (Shantung), in tien-li, p. 14).  
 Wrote preface to no. 22 by Mi, dated 1691, according to  
 Fu T'ung-hsien, p. 159.



Held various posts in Kwangtung, Honan, and Peking.  
Poet and brother to two poets. Associated in 1683 with editing the Chekiang Provincial Gazetteer.

See Chin Chi-t'ang, p. 209 (and Fu, p. 165), Pai Shou-i, 1948, pp. 300-2; biography in Chekiang Provincial Gazetteer (Commercial Press), 1934, p. 3108; in Hang-chou fu-chih, 1922 reprint, pp. 2753-4; Li Huan, pp. 5593, 5611-2; CKJMTTT, p. 7; Nakada, p. 71; CSLC 70, p. 9.

53. She Yün-shan 舍蘊善

A disciple of Ch'ang Chih-mei, and author of my no. 16 (according to Chin Chi-t'ang, p. 202, and Fu T'ung-hsien, pp. 156-7), and of no. 17 (according to Palladius, p. 198, Majerczak, p. 117). Of Kuan-hsi 關西 (Shensi, Kansu?).

Fu adds extra information, not entirely convincing, for he gives the date 1679, but also has She quote the "Prophet" of Liu Chih, post-1720.

54. Ma Chin-liang 馬進良

This army brigadier (tsung-ping 總兵) is named in some editions of the undated Hui-hui yüan-lai, my no. 53, as meeting the K'ang-hsi Emperor. He is also named, with Ma Hsiung, as fl. earlier, in the Yung-cheng edict of 1730.

Ma Chin-liang, tzu T'ung (?) - yü 棟宇, fl. 1693-1707, d.c.1714; posthumous title Hsiang-i 襄毅, of Hsi-ning 西寧 fu, Kansu (or of Shensi), was appointed in Ku-pei-k'ou 古北口, Hopei, in 1695; rank of t'i-tu 提督.

See Fu T'ung-hsien, p. 151; Nakada, 1953, pp. 73-4, 84; Li Huan, p. 9350; Hopei Provincial Gazetteer (Commercial Press), p. 1066; Hsi-ning fu hsin-chih, vol. 28, p. 1016; CKJMTTT, p. 869.

See Pai Shou-i, 1948, pp. 308-322, for other army officers.

55. Yen Ting-kuo 閻定國

Some editions of no. 53 also mention another brigadier Yen Ting-kuo, of Huai-ch'ing 懷慶 fu, Honan. He was a man of Ningsia (Shensi), appointed 1704-8 as Tsung-chen 總鎮, stationed in Huai-ch'ing. See Honan Provincial Gazetteer, 1914, chap. 39, p. 2b.

56. Ma Kuei-ping

Also mentioned in no 53, some editions. "Imam of the mosque at Makiasze, a village to the north of Tamingfu (大名 fu), Chihli" (Broomhall, p. 63).

57. Ma Shih-chün 馬世俊

Tzu Chang-min 章民 (or Tien-ch'en 甸臣); chin-shih of 1661 (first place), of P'iao-yang 漂陽 hsien, Kiangsu. According to my no. 25, Ma, a Han-lin scholar, met the Emperor around 1661 (see Palladius, p. 444, Majerczak, p. 149).

For biographies, see Chin, p. 208; Pai, 1948, p. 302; Nakada, 1953, p. 84; and 1880 preface by T'ang 唐 to my no. 54a; Li Huan, p. 4901; P'iao-yang hsien-chih, vol. 13 (not seen); CKJMTTT, p. 861; CSLC 70, p. 32; Fu, p. 165.

58. Ma Ch'eng-yin 馬承蔭

Son of Ma Hsiung 雄, army officer of Shensi, connected to Islamic development in Liu-chou 柳州, t'i-tu 提督

"Commandant", c. 1680, in Kwangsi. Wrote preface of 1681 to "Compass". See Pai Shou-i, 1948, pp. 326 ff; Nakada, 1953, pp. 78, 80-81; CKJMTTT, p. 864. Saguchi Tōru, 1955, p. 126, notes a reference to him for 1680 in the Ch'ing Shih-lu;

CSLC 80, p. 32.

59. Ma Ch'eng-i 馬承益 of Wu (Kiangsu), mentioned as a scholar in this 1681 preface but otherwise unknown, presumably related to above. Presumably dead in 1683 (for not among greetings to "Compass").

60. MA CHU 馬注  
Tzu Wen-ping 文炳, hao Chung-hsiu 仲修, soubriquet Chih-nan lao-jen 指南老人 "Elder of the Compass"; also called Ma Chung-weng 翁 and Ma Chung-tzu 子, c. 1640-1709. The Sayyid Yussuf, descendant of Sayyid Edjell in the 15th generation, of the Prophet in 45th; of Pao-shan 保山 hsien, Chin-ch'ih 金齒, Yung-ch'ang 永昌 fu, Yunnan; c. 1620-1710. Baby name Feng 鳳, son of Ma Shih-k'ung 師孔, grandson of Ma Chih-yün 之雲.

In Wu-ting 武定 chou, Yunnan, 1665, to Peking in 1669, back to Yunnan in 1684, after failing to get Imperial support for his claim to be officially recognised as a Sayyid (descendant of the Prophet).

Author of "Compass", my no. 19, 1683 and 1710; chapter 17 of "Prophet" by Liu Chih; a stele for Sayyid Edjell, 1709 (see RMM 10, 1910, pp. 317-340, or d'Ollone, pp. 93-115).

See Preface volume to "Compass", esp. "Biography of Yussuf"; d'Ollone, passim, e.g. p. 180, Li Huan-i, 2, 22a-24b; J. Ford, pp. 148-9; Fu, pp. 157-8.

61. Ho Kuan-wu 何觀五  
Hao Hsing-wen 星文

Associated with Ma Chu in c. 1665-1668; of Liang-ch'ung 浪穹 hsien (Tali, Yunnan) (see biography of Ma in no. 19). Not necessarily Muslim.

62. Sun Pi-t'i 孫必第  
Tzu Hou-shan 後山 of Ku-liang 古梁 (Kaifeng).  
Assoc. of "Compass", c. 1683.

63. Ma Ning 馬甯  
Of Ningsia, died in 1680.  
From 1646, active as a military officer in Szechwan, Hukwang, Yunnan, Shantung, etc. T'i-tu 提督 of Hukwang in 1673.

Does not appear in our Muslim books. Biography in Li Huan-i, 2, p. 26b; cf. Hunan Provincial Gazetteer, 1934, p. 2645.

64. Ma Chih-ch'i 馬之其  
Tzu Chung-mei 仲敏, of Chiang-ning, Chin-ling (Nanking), Kiangsu (Wu), mentioned in 1681 preface to "Compass", and Ming-ching i.e. kung-sheng (greetings in "Compass" 1683), and checker of most of its volumes. Mentioned also in 1678 "Instructions" to my no. 13 by Wu Tzu-hsien.

Presumably related to and of same generation as Ma Chih-yün 之雲, grandfather of Ma Chu (see autobiography in "Compass"), and Ma Chih-lin 之麟, associate of no. 15, c. 1678.

65. Ma Hua-chiao 馬化蛟  
Of Yen (Hopei), named as scholar in 1681 preface to "Compass", Ming-ching i.e. kung-sheng of Chin-t'ai (Peking), sent greetings to Ma Chu in 1683. Cf. FOM 23,4 (Oct. 1949), p. 56.

66. Huang-fu Ching 皇甫經  
Mentioned in 1681 preface to "Compass" as scholar from Yüeh (Kwangtung, Kwangsi), he sent greetings to Ma Chu in 1683 as Ming-ching i.e. kung-sheng of Ch'u-nan 楚南 (Hunan).

67. She Ch'i-yün 舍起雲  
Mentioned in the 1681 Preface to the "Compass", as of  
Chung-shan 中山 (i.e. Cheng-ting 正定 fu, Hopei), a Ming-ching  
i.e. kung-sheng of Kuan-hsi 關西 (Shensi, Kansu), who sent  
greetings to Ma Chu in 1683.

See Pai Shou-i, 1948, p. 336; Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 36a-37b.

68. Yang Kuo-chu 楊國柱  
Chiao-ling 教領 "Instructor", of Yen-chung 燕中  
(Hopei).

69. Yang Jung-yeh 楊榮業  
Ming-ching i.e. kung-sheng of Chin-t'ai (Peking).

70. Yang T'ien-ch'iu 楊天虬  
Disciple of Ma Chu, of Kuang-ling (Yangchow).  
The above three all sent greetings to Ma Chu in 1683.

71. Ku Chih-ts'an 古之瓚  
Tzu Feng-i 鳳儀. Ming-ching i.e. Kung-sheng of  
Kuang-ling 廣陵 (Yangchow, Kiangsu), associate of the "Compass",  
sent greetings in 1683.

72. Ts'ai Hao-ming 蔡鶴鳴  
Kuang-wen 廣文 "Prefectural Director of Studies" of  
Pao-ning 保寧 fu (Szechwan), sent greetings to Ma Chu  
in 1683.

73. Wang Hsing-wen 王興文  
Ming-ching i.e. Kung-sheng of Chi-ning 濟寧 chou  
(Shantung), sent greetings in 1683.

74. Ma T'ing-jui 馬廷瑞 (or 之瑞 ?), tzu Chün-wang 君望  
Chiao-ling 教領 "Instructor", of Ku-tang 古碭, sent  
greetings to Ma Chu's "Compass" in 1683, and was associated  
with its editing.

75. Ma Sui-t'ai 馬綏泰  
Tzu Cheng-yang 正陽 of Ku-liang (Kaifeng).  
Associate of "Compass", disciple of Ma Chu, sent greetings  
in 1683.

76. Ma T'i-jen 馬體仁  
Chiao-ling "Instructor", of Kunming, sent greetings to Ma  
Chu in 1683.

77. Yüan Ju-ch'i 袁汝琦  
Tzu Mou-chao 懋昭, of Shih-ch'eng 石城 (Nanking).  
Ming-ching i.e. Kung-sheng (1683 greetings to "Compass");  
preface to hsing-li in 1704 as "elder" (fu 父), and reviewer.  
Teacher of Liu Chih, grandfather of Yüan Kuo-tsu.

78. Cheng Shih-ch'ang 鄭士昌  
Po-wen 博文 "Learned", of Nanking, sent greetings to  
Ma Chu in 1683.

79. Feng T'ung-yü 馮通宇  
Ming-ching i.e. Kung-sheng of Sian (Shensi) (greetings  
to "Compass" in 1683). Is Feng Tsung-wu 從吾, writer, also  
of Sian (See Chin Chi-t'ang, p. 208), related?

80. Hsieh Ch'i-yu 契啟祐  
Hsiao-lien 孝廉 (i.e. chü-jen 舉人) of Tung-ch'uan 棟  
川 (Yunnan). Sent greetings to Ma Chu in 1683. He was, in

fact, a chü-jen of 1693 of Yao-an 姚安, Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 fu, Yunnan (see Yunnan Provincial Gazetteer, vol. 140, p. 18b).

81. Liu San-chieh 劉三傑, tzu Han-ying 漢英, of Shang-yüan 上元 (Nanking), fl. end of 17th Century.

Father of Liu Chih, author of no. 23. He is named in the preface to the "Prophet" and hsing-li by Liu Chih, and also as contributor of greetings in the "Compass" in 1683 with title Kuang-hsüeh 廣學, and as reviewer. Possibly wrote supplement to no. 34 by Liu Chih, and possibly connected with no. 53.

82. Liu Fa-hsiang 劉發祥

Author of my no. 20, dated 1684 (and cf. my no. 21), possibly non-Muslim. See d'Ollone, pp. 52-54, for his relation with Ma Chu, author of the 1683 "Compass".

I believe he is Liu Ching-kung 敬公, a chü-jen of 1684 of Shih-p'ing 石屏 chou, appointed chiao-yü 教諭 in Kunming from 1686-1691; and a hsüeh-cheng 學正 in Yün-lung 雲龍 chou (Yunnan).

See Shih-p'ing chou-chih, 1759, p. 57; and K'un-ming hsien-chih 1901 (Taipei reprint, p. 74). Cf. d'Ollone, pp. 50-61.

83. Tso Pao-t'ien 佐保天

Tzu Tiao-yüan 調元 of Hsi-Shu 西蜀 (Szechwan). Wrote preface of 1688 to "Compass".

84. P'o Na-chih 破衲癡

Translator of no. 17a, according to Palladius, p. 197 (Panskaya, p. 78, Majerczak, p. 116). Translator of no. 28a.

85. Wu Shih-hao 伍士豪

86. Wu Shih-chen 伍士貞

The above two were grand-nephews of Wu Tzu-hsien, author of no. 13.

87. Huang Tao 黃道

Tzu Chi-shih 吉士, of Hunan, 17th Century?. Tombstone in Sian.

See Lan Tzu-hsi, 7, pp. 45-7.

88. Wu Pen-li 吳本立

Chin-shih of Wu Chin 武進 hsien, (Ch'ang-chou), Chiangnan, in 1670. Wrote "Instructions" to Sha clan Tsung-p'u as "Nephew" 姪, presumably a Muslim.

Not mentioned in our Muslim books, nor in the secondary sources.

89. Feng Tsung-wu 馮從吾

A writer of several works, 17th Century?, of Sian. Does not appear in our Muslim works.

See Chin Chi-t'ang, p. 208.

90. Shan Chung-t'ung 閔仲侗

Tzu Chih-yüan 知原, chü-jen of 1627, of Pao-shan 保山 hsien, Yung-ch'ang 永昌 fu, Yunnan, son of Shan Chi-t'i 繼迪, tzu Yün-hsiu 允修, chü-jen of 1585, a writer. Does not appear in our Muslim works.

See Pai Shou-i, 1948, p. 299; Yung-ch'ang fu-chih, 1885 (1967 reprint, p. 264). For his father, see CKJMTTT, p. 859.

91. Hai Feng-chu 海鳳翥

Tzu Shih-t'ing 石亭, chin-shih of 1694, of Ch'ung-yang  
衡陽 hsien, Pai-ch'ing 寶慶 fu, Hunan; magistrate of  
Lung-men 龍門 hsien, Hopei, in 1699.

Not mentioned in our Muslim books. Only evidence that he  
was a Muslim is his surname (see Nakada, p. 69).

Biographies in Li Huan, p. 7799; Hunan Provincial Gazetteer  
(1934), p. 3733; Hopei (Chi-fu) Provincial Gazetteer (1934),  
p. 7006; Ch'ung-yang hsien-chih, biog. section, 23 (not seen).

(b) 18th Century

92. Ting Hsien 丁灝

Tzu Tsui-an 最菴. Of Wu-lin 武林 (Hangchow).

Wrote preface, dated 1712, to Liu Chih's hsing-li at 76  
years, hence born c. 1636. Associated also with the tien-li.

93. Po-hsia.

Author of no. 25. Fl. 1702, according to Palladius,  
pp. 193, 286 (Majerczak, p. 114), otherwise unknown.

94. Ma Shih-ying 馬世英

Tzu Chin-pai 晉伯.

95. Ma Shih-hsiung 馬世雄

Tzu Fang-hou 方侯.

The two above were associated with the Supplement to the  
"Compass" in 1707. Were they related to Ma Shih-chün, chin-shih  
of 1661?

96. Ma Ju-wei 馬汝為

Tzu Hsüan-ch'en 宣臣, hao Hui-chai 悔齋,  
chin-shih of 1703, of Yüan-chiang 元 (or 沅) 江 chou,  
Yunnan, 1661-1715+. Prefect of T'ung-jen 銅仁 fu, Kweichow,  
during Yung-cheng period (1723-1736). He was son of Ma Fu 付,  
tzu Wen-hsiu 文秀, mother née Yang 楊. His father,  
who had suppressed rebels in 1681, became Ju-lin-lang 儒

林郎 (grade 6b) because of son Ju-wei. Two brothers/  
cousins were chü-jen of 1705. He served as fu-shih 副持 in  
the Tali temple 大理寺左寺 in 1714.

Ju-wei does not figure in our Muslim books, except as a supervisor for Liu Chih's tien-li, c. 1710 (Pai says of hsing-li). We cannot be sure he was a Muslim as claimed by Pai.

His book Ma Hui-chai hsien-sheng i-chi 馬悔齋先生遺集 in 4 chüan (from the Ch'ien-lung period) is extant (Yün-nan ts'ung-shu, 1919).

Biographies of Ma Ju-wei and his father Ma Fu are found in Yunnan Provincial Gazetteer, ch.148; and in Yüan-chiang chih-kao, 1967, pp. 190-1 (and see also pp. 121, 148, 185, 205, 283, 316, 324, 344, 348, 358). See also Pai Shou-i, 1948, pp. 303-4; Kweichow Provincial Gazetteer, ch. 18, p. 35a.

For his writings, see also Yüan-chiang chih-kao, pp. 245-8, 255, 264-5, 270, 279, 326; and pp. 331-4, for tombstones of both father and son. A poem he wrote is in Shih-p'ing chou-chih

石屏州志, 1759, p. 309 (he is called a chien-t'ao 檢討).

97. LIU CHIH 劉智  
Tzu Chieh-lien 介廉, hao I-chai 一齋, of Shang-yüan, Chiang-ning (Nanking), Kiangsu; c. 1662-1736?

Author of my nos. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40, and probably of 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, and possibly others.

The most famous Muslim writer, achieved greatest success posthumously, when his works including the "Prophet" and hsing-li were presented to Ch'ien-lung in 1782, and one, the tien-li, was included in the Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu. Great-grandson Liu Meng-i 夢義, fl. 1782 (see Memorial in "Prophet").

See prefaces to his works, and his tombstone inscription of 1909 in Nanking (in 1970 edition of tien-li, pp. 11077-11080).

See also Tanaka Ippei, 1930, pp. 3-8; Pelliot, TP 21 (1922), pp. 413-425; Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 43a-b; Fu, pp. 160-2; J. Ford, 1974, pp. 149-152; and (specialised, concerning individual works) Kuwata, 1933 (and cf. Tazaka, pp. 1270 ff.), and Kadono, 1940.

98. Liu I-ts'an 劉一參

Author of no. 27, which has preface date 1751. However, I believe that this is a mistake for Liu I-chai (Liu Chih).

99. Liang P'an-shang 梁潘賞

Tzu Ch'ing-ho 青和, of Shih-ch'eng 石城 (Nanking). Wrote 1704 preface to Liu Chih's hsing-li, and associated in editorship of hsing-li and tien-li.

100. Ma Ch'iu-t'ien 馬秋田

Mentioned as go-between from Liu Chih to chin-shih Wang Tse-hung in 1707 (see Wang's preface to hsing-li). A poet of Shantung (Chin Chi-t'ang, p. 209).

101. HEI MING-FENG 黑鳴鳳

Tzu Yü-hui 羽輝, army rank yu-chün 右軍 (adjutant), military chin-shih of 1703. Of Lin-ch'ing 臨清 hsien, Shantung (or of Ch'ing-yüan 清源 hsien, Shansi?).

Edited and reviewed Liu Chih's hsing-li, adding comments to every section, and a 1710 preface. Author of a separate but associated work, my no. 33a, with 1707 preface. Also associated (later) with Ch'ao-yang 朝陽 hsien (Liaoning).

See Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 45a-b, Fu T'ung-hsien, p. 154; and biography in Shantung Provincial Gazetteer (Commercial Press), p. 5017.

102. Li Feng-wu 李封五  
Tzu Hsi-jung 希榮, of Hsi-liang 西涼 (Yung-ch'ang fu, Yunnan).

One of the three main editors of Liu Chih's hsing-li, c. 1712; helped in "Instructions".

103. Ma Yao-huan 馬耀寰  
Tzu Shou-te 守德, of Ningsia.

One of three main editors of Liu's hsing-li, c. 1712, helped in "Instructions".

104. Yü Chieh 俞楷  
Tzu Ch'en-fang 陳芳, of Hai-yang 海陽 (東陽, Chekiang?).

Wrote preface to hsing-li in 1710, preface to my no. 35 in 1710, mentioned in "Instructions" to tien-li, c. 1706, and associated with editing all three, all by Liu Chih.

105. Ting Ch'eng-lung 定成隆  
Of Chiang-hsia 江夏 hsien (Wuchang), Hupei, wrote Pa, 1710, to tien-li.

106. Yang P'ei-lu 楊裴萊  
Tzu Ch'i-i 淇益, of Shan-yang 山陽 (Kiangsu or Shensi?). Associate and preface writer to tien-li, c. 1710.

107. Yang P'ei-ch'ien 裴蒨, tzu Hsiang-chih 湘芷

108. Yang P'ei-ts'ung 裴蔥, tzu Shu-yü 樹玉  
Both men of Shan-yang are also associated with the tien-li.

109. Yang T'ing-kuei 楊廷桂, tzu Mu-t'ien 木天

110. Yang Chiu-hsia 九霞, tzu T'an-yen 丹嚴  
Both are associated with the tien-li.

111. Yang Kuang-wen 廣文, tzu Cha-yu 扎有  
Mentioned in Ting's preface to the hsing-li.  
All these Yang men are of Shan-yang.

112. Liu Yen 劉巖, tzu Ta-shan 大山

113. Liu Wei-i 劉惟一, tzu Kuo-hsiang 國相

114. Ma Hsüan-fu 馬恒馥, tzu Ching-hsin 景新

115. Ma Hsin-che 馬心喆, tzu Kuang-hsien 光顯  
The above were associated in various capacities with editing the hsing-li, c. 1710.

116. Ma Chu 馬助, tzu Yu-shang 佑上  
Of Chiang-tso 江左 (Kiangsu or Shantung?). Associated with both hsing-li and tien-li.

117. Ch'en Tsu-hsiao 陳祖孝, tzu I-hou 翼後  
Of Shan-yang 山陽.

118. Chin Hsüeh-shu 金學舒, tzu Tung-shun 董醇  
Of Shan-yang.

119. Liu K'o-ta 劉可大, tzu Chien-an 簡菴  
Of T'ang-i 棠邑 (Nanking).

120. Ma Yü-hsi 馬禹錫, tzu Lo-chih 洛之  
Of Shih-ch'eng 石城 (Nanking).

121. Ting Sheng 丁晟, tzu I-li 軼李  
Of Ch'ien-t'ang (Hangchow).

122. Ma Hsing 馬星, tzu Kao-ling 高陵  
Of Mo-ling 秣陵 (Nanking).

123. Ma Ming-tao 馬明道, tzu Hsin-tu 信篤  
Of Shan-tso 山左 (Shantung).

124. Li Chih-chung 李持中, tzu Huan-i 恒一  
Of Shan-tso (Shantung).

The above seven were associated in various capacities  
with the tien-li, c. 1710.

125. Tsao Hsien 曹賢, tzu Wu-yü 五愚  
Of Shih-ch'eng (Nanking).  
Associated with additional chapter of tien-li.

126. Kao Yu-ch'in 高友琴, tzu Hsien-chou 仙舟  
Of Ching-men 津門 (Tientsin, Hopei).

127. Wang Ming-chih 王明智, tzu Jung-chai 融齋  
Of Ching-men (Tientsin).

128. Pai Yün-lung 白雲龍, tzu Ai-t'ing 靄亭  
Of Ku-pien 古汴 (Kaifeng).

129. Wang Chia-ho 王家和, tzu Shou-chen 守真  
Hao Hsieh-ch'in 諧琴, of Ku-pien (Kaifeng).

130. Ma Chin-ch'ao 馬進朝, tzu Chung-liang 忠良  
Of Ch'ang-an, Shensi.

131. Mu Ch'ao 穆超, tzu Yüeh-fan 超凡  
Hao Ts'ui-meng 萃蒙, of Kuan-chung (Shensi).

132. Wang Shih-i 王士義, tzu Lai-an 來俺  
Of T'ung-chiang 桐江 (Chekiang?), (possibly non-Muslim).

The above seven were associated in various capacities  
with Liu Chih's Wu-kung shih-i, my no. 35, c. 1710.

133. Nieh Tsung-yu 聶從有, tzu Chih-yüan 之原  
Hao Ching-hsiu 敬修?  
Of Kuan-chung 關中 (Shensi).

Engraver of my no. 35 by Liu Chih, c. 1710; associated  
also with Wang Tai-yü's no. 7, presumably an edition later than  
the c. 1650 original.

134. Ma Hsiung-jung 馬宏融  
Tzu Chih-chi 之機, Sayyid of Chin-ch'eng 錦城  
(Ch'eng-tu), associate of no. 7, but of the same period as  
Nieh.

135. Ma Chin-chung 馬盡忠 (or Shu-chung 書忠)  
A chang-chiao (Community leader) of Ku-pai 姑栢, Pao-pa  
保聖, Wu-ting 武定 fu (Shantung), fl. 1710. See vol.  
10 of "Compass".

136. Sun K'o-an 孫可庵  
Of Hsi-hu 西湖, Hangchow. The first preface to his  
extant book (my no. 32) is of 1720, but Sun may well have lived  
earlier.



137. Shen Mou-chung 沈懋中  
Of Yen-shan 燕山 (Peking). Wrote 1720 prefaces to my  
no. 32 by Sun K'o-an and my no. 14 by Wu Tzu-hsien. His descendant  
Shen Feng-i 鳳儀 edited both works c. 1835-8, and also  
no. 54.

138. Li Shun-ch'ing 李順卿  
Tzu Ch'i-lü 期履, of Ch'ang-p'ing 昌平 chou,  
Hopei.  
Possible wrote a preface to no. 53 in 1722 (according  
to Tazaka, p. 1429).

139. Yang Ch'u-te 楊處得  
Of Yen-shan (Peking).  
Mentioned in 1720 preface by Shen Mou-chung to no. 14.

140. Ching Yao-an 景瑤安  
Tzu She-ch'in 舍親.  
Mentioned in 1720 preface by Shen to no. 14.

141. Ho Ta-ch'ung 何大寵  
Tzu Shu-p'ing 叔平, of Hsiang-hsi 湘溪.  
Wrote postscript pa to my no. 32, dated 1721 (or 1841!?).

142. Ma Ta-yung 馬大用  
Of Anhwei, fl. 1727, naval officer in Fukien. Commandant.  
Does not figure in our Muslim books.  
See Biography in Li Huan-i, 2, p. 44a.

143. Sai Chih-ta 賽枝大  
Tzu Yün-keng 雲耕, of Wen-teng 文登 hsien,  
Teng-chou 登州 fu, Shantung. Was a t'ung-chih 同知  
"sub-prefect", in Yunnan? Was in Shao-t'ung 昭通 fu,  
in Yunnan, 1728. Rank of Chien-shih 僉事. Biography in  
Li Huan, pp. 10881-2; Shantung Provincial Gazetteer, 1934, p. 5069.  
See also Nakada, p. 68; Teng-chou fu-chih, ch. 10 (not seen);  
Wen-teng hsien-chih, ch. 5 (not seen).

144. Chin Jung 金溶  
Tzu Kuang-yün 廣蘊, chin-shih of 1730, of Ta-hsing  
大興 hsien (Peking), died at 73 years.  
Memorialised the Ch'ien-lung Emperor in c. 1736, 1744;  
Prefect in Chang-chou 漳州 fu, Fukien; and several other  
posts.

Does not figure in our Muslim books. According to Pai  
Shou-i, 1948, pp. 376-8, a tombstone of his wife née Kung  
龔 was set up in 1746 in a Muslim cemetery.

Besides Pai, see biographies in Hopei (Chi-fu) Provincial  
Gazetteer (1934), pp. 7999-8000; and Ch'ing-shih kao, 123;  
CSLC 75, p. 19.

145. Li Shun 李順  
Former name P'eng-hsiang 鵬翔, tzu Su-t'ang  
蘭堂; of T'ang hsien, (Nan-yang 南陽 fu), Honan.  
Active K'ang-hsi to Yung-cheng periods. Honoured 1733,  
died at 96 years. Does not figure in our Muslim books.  
See biography in Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 40a-42a.

146. Ha Yüan-sheng 哈元生  
Tzu T'ien-chang 天章, c. 1681-1738, of Ho-chien 河  
間fu, Hopei.  
Active in Szechwan, in Kweichow in 1724 and 1735, and  
in Yunnan in 1727-8, reaching rank of t'i-tu 提督 "provincial  
commander-in-chief". Son of Ha Ying-pien 應忭, a shou-pei  
守備 (second captain) of Wuchang, father of Ha Shang-te 尚  
德, died 1773, brigadier.  
He is mentioned in the Yung-cheng edict of 1730. He met  
the Emperor, and Muslim sources say the Emperor feasted him with  
specially slaughtered lamb. He was connected with the building  
of Shao-t'ung 昭通 hsien mosques.  
See Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 46a-47a; Pai Shou-i, 1948, pp. 312-3;  
Nakada, 1953, pp. 68, 70, 75; Fu T'ung-hsien, pp. 152-3; Hummel,  
ECCP, pp. 272-3; Li Huan, pp. 9420-2; CKJMTT, p. 634; Ch'ing-  
shih kao 304, p. 3b; CSLC 18, pp. 20a-22a; Yün-nan t'ung-chih kao  
(1826) 104, pp. 32b, 35b, 44b, 129, p. 9a; Hopei (Chi-fu)  
Provincial Gazetteer (1934), pp. 8206-7; Shao-t'ung hsien-chih kao,  
ch. 6 (not seen); Kweichow Provincial Gazetteer, vol. 18, p. 46a.
147. Sun P'eng 孫鵬  
Tzu T'u-nan 圖南, hao Nan-ts'un 南村, of Kunming,  
1708 kung-sheng. Served in Ssu-shui 泗水 hsien, Shantung,  
1732. Wrote book 南村詩集, 8 vols, still extant  
(according to Pai). Does not figure in our Muslim books.  
See Pai Shou-i, 1948, pp. 302-3; Shantung Provincial  
Gazetteer, 1934, p. 2004.

148. Ma T'ai-shih 馬太師  
1679-1752. T'ai-shih is presumably a title.  
See d'Ollone, p. 186, for inscription for him written  
by Sai Yü in 1789 (but ignore translation by Creste).
149. CHIN T'IEN-CHU 金天柱  
Tzu Pei-kao 北高, of Shih-ch'eng 石城 (Nanking).  
Chiao-hsi 教習 "Instructor" in Ssu-i-kuan 四譯館, Han-lin  
academy, Peking, c. 1726-1745.  
Author of no. 54, c. 1729-1738 (and cf. no. 54a).  
According to Pickens, his book was an answer to the 1730  
criticism of Islam by the Anhwei official Lu Kuo-hua 魯國華  
(in the Shih-lu, see Saguchi, 1955, p. 127). Mentioned in the  
1781 memorial by governor-general Sa-tsai (see "Prophet", preface  
volume). See also Shen Feng-i's preface to my 14a. Did he make  
a partial translation of the Quran, 15 folios, held in Tenri?  
See Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 53a-b; Fu, pp. 162-3.
150. Ma Kuang-ch'ien 馬光前  
According to Tazaka, p. 1411, he printed or reprinted my  
no. 10 by Ma Ming-lung in 1735.  
Is he related to Ma Kuang-wen and his brethren of Hsin-an?
151. Ch'en Ta-chao 陳大韶  
Tzu Yu-shan 又善; possibly Tsung-shan 宗山.  
Pa kung-sheng, magistrate (or magistrate elect?) of Sung-  
hsi 松滋 hsien, Hupei, attempted chin-shih exam in 1724.  
Wrote 1738 preface to Chin's no. 54 (and in 54a), and  
mentioned by Chin T'ien-chu in his undated preface. Not  
necessarily Muslim.

152. Hu Hui-yüan 胡匯源  
Tzu Su-hai 宿海, of P'u-yang 浦陽 hsien,  
Chekiang. Wrote preface to no. 54, dated 1745.
153. Ma T'ing-fu 馬廷輔  
Tzu Chün-lu 君祿, of Yunnan, wrote a preface to  
no. 54, dated 1745.  
Note the similarity of name to Ma T'ing 廷 (or should  
it be Chih 之?) -jui 瑞, tzu Chün-wang 君望, of 1683.
154. Ting Shih-shen 丁士紳  
Tzu Hsi-leng 西冷, hao Kao-ts'ai 高采.  
Author of 1743 Hangchow stele. Grand nephew of Ting P'eng  
(chin-shih of 1655). See Vissière, *Etudes Sino-Mahométanes*, 1913,  
pp. 140-146, which mentions also several other Hangchow Muslims  
of this time.
155. Chou Chieh  
Wrote preface to my no. 14, 1744 (See Vissière, in  
d'Ollone, p. 395); grandson of Chou Shih-ch'i (fl 1672).
156. Yüan Tsung-yü  
Author of no. 56, fl. 1737, otherwise unknown. See  
Palladius, pp. 196, 394-6 (Majerczak, pp. 116, 130-1).  
Possibly related to Yüan Tsung-tai 袁宗岱, father  
of Yüan Kuo-tsu (see 1778 preface by Yüan to "Prophet").
157. Yang Shuang-shan  
Author of no. 57, fl. 1747, otherwise unknown. See  
Palladius, pp. 197, 397-414 (Majerczak, pp. 116, 131-6).

158. Ch'eng Shih-te  
Disciple of Yang, fl. 1747. See Palladius, *op. cit.*
159. P'eng Hui-o 彭輝萼  
Of P'ing-ling 平陵, Chiang-tso 江左 (Chinan,  
Shantung?). Wrote 1751 preface to no. 27.
160. T'an 談  
Of Ching-chiang 京江, probably Ching-k'ou 京口,  
(near Chinkiang?). Wrote 1760 Pa to hsing-li.
161. Ma Ming-hsin 馬明新  
Of Ho-chou 河州, Lanchow, Kansu, during Ch'ien-lung.
162. Ma Lai-ch'ih 馬來遲  
Of Ho-chou, Kansu, during Ch'ien-lung, c. 1780.  
The above two are named by Chin Chi-t'ang, page 199. In  
fact, Ma Ming-hsin is an error for my no. 174 (p. 106 below).  
Cf. Nakada, 1971, pp. 81-3; Saguchi, 1955, p. 136.
163. Ku Ch'ang-fa 賈長發, tzu Chao-hsiang 肇祥  
Of Chung-chou 中州 (Honan), fl. 1768. See 1919  
preface to no. 35 by Liu Chih. Also checker of no. 34 by Liu.
164. Wang Yung-an 王永安, tzu Wan-nien 萬年  
Of Chung-chou (Honan), fl. 1768. See 1919 preface to no.  
35. Also checker of no. 34 by Liu.
165. Liu Kuo-shu 劉國樞, tzu I-te 以德  
Of Chiang-ning (Nanking). Edited Liu's no. 34.
166. Yüan Shih-heng 袁士衡, tzu Ping-to 秉鐸  
Of Chiang-ning (Nanking). Edited Liu's no. 34.

## 167. Ha Shang-te 哈尚德

Colonel in 1741; Hunan, Hupei, Shensi, Yunnan; brigadier in 1744, disgraced in 1766, died 1773.

Son of Ha Yüan-sheng 元生 .

Does not figure in our Muslim books.

See Nakada, p. 68; Hunan Provincial Gazetteer (1934), pp. 2363, 2649; Hupei Provincial Gazetteer (1934), p. 2808; Hummel, ECCP, pp. 272-3 (by R.O. Suter); Li Huan, p. 10481; CSLC, 18, pp. 20a-22a; Yunnan Provincial Gazetteer, 123, p. 15b.

## 168. Ha P'an-lung 哈攀龍

Military chin-shih of 1737, died 1760.

A t'i-tu "commander-in-chief" in Ku-yüan 固原 chou, Kansu, 1749, in Hukwang in 1751, in Kweichow in 1757.

Father of Ha Kuo-hsing 國興 . Of Ho-chien 河間 fu, Hopei.

Does not figure in our Muslim books. However, he and his son are both called hui "Muslim" in the Shih-lu, in 1750, see Saguchi, 1956, p. 128.

See Pai, p. 314, Fu, p. 151, Nakada, pp. 68-69; Hopei (Chi-fu) Provincial Gazetteer (1934), p. 8208; Hunan Provincial Gazetteer (1934), p. 2645; Li Huan, pp. 9489-90.

## 169. Mai Kuo-liang 買國良

Of Hsi-ch'ang 西昌, Szechwan. Active in Tibet as a Lt-colonel. Died in battle in 1748 in Chin-ch'uan 金川 operation.

Does not figure in our Muslim books. See Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 54a-b; Nakada, p. 70; Li Huan, pp. 10922-3.

## 170. Ma Liang-chu 馬良柱

Of Chang-yeh 張掖, Kansu, 1681-1762. Moved to Chengtu, Szechwan. Brigadier Tsung-ping in Szechwan in 1751.

Son Ying-chao 應詔 was a Colonel in Ho-chien 河間 fu; grandson Yü 瑜 was Commandant in Chiang-nan.

Does not figure in our Muslim books. However, his forebears are labelled as Muslim in Chinese sources.

Biographies in Li Huan, pp. 9507-8; Pai Shou-i, 1948, pp. 314-5; Nakada, p. 71; CKJMTT, p. 864; and see also Kan-chou fu-chih 甘肅府志 ch. 11 (not seen).

## 171. Yeh Ta-hsiung 冶大雄

Of Chengtu, Szechwan. Served in Tibet and Hukwang. In 1748, active against Chin-ch'uan rebels. Brigadier in Shao-t'un

昭通 hsien, Yunnan, then Commandant in 1749. Died in 1756.

Does not figure in our Muslim books.

See Pai Shou-i, 1948, pp. 314-5; Saguchi, 1955, p. 129; Li Huan, pp. 9467-8; CSLC 15, 35; Yunnan Provincial Gazetteer, 123, p. 9b.

## 172. SAI YÜ 賽璵

Tzu Cho-an 琢庵, hao Pi-shan 筆山, soubriquet 夢鰲山人, son of Hsiang-te 象德; a Confucian scholar 儒士; 1697-1795, of Shih-p'ing 石屏 (chou), Lin-an fu, Yunnan; Sayyid (descendant of Prophet), chü-jen of 1729 (hsiang chin-shih is only chü-jen) (though he may have received an honorary chin-shih degree in 1788 or 1789).

Wen-lin-lang 文林郎, examiner in Kweichow in 1732, magistrate of Hung 珙 hsien, Hsü-chou 叙州 fu, Szechwan, in 1752, returning home in 1758 (see Hung hsien-chih, p. 504).

Wrote preface, 1755, to "Prophet" (at 80); and an inscription in 1789 (at 93 years old) for Ma T'ai-shih 馬太師, 1679-1752, found in d'Ollone, p. 186 (the translation by Creste on pp. 187-8 is hopelessly garbled). Wrote several works, e.g. 夢鰲山人集, not extant.

See Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 52a-b; Pai Shou-i, 1948, pp. 304-5; Ford, 1974, pp. 152-3; and see also Shih-p'ing chou-chih, 1759 (Taipei reprint), p. 59, for his degree; pp. 186-7 (and cf. p. 108), for a biography of his virtuous mother, née Ma 馬; p. 189, for a biography of his paternal aunt, married to Li 李, by Sai Yü himself; pp. 171, 190, 229, 236, 249, 292-3, 301, 307, 310, for further writings (inscriptions, biographies, poems); Hung hsien-chih, 1883, (Taipei reprint), pp. 857-9; and elsewhere.

173. Ch'ang Chieh 常傑

Muslim scholar in Lin-i 臨邑 hsien, Shantung, fl. 1762 (see memorial of 1781 in "Prophet"). Born c. 1736, according to Fu, p. 157.

174. MA MING-HSIN 馬明心

Founder of the New Teaching, fl. 1761. Of An-ting 安定 hsien, Kansu. Imprisoned in Lanchow, executed in 1781, and mentioned in 1781 memorial in the "Prophet".

See Ford, pp. 153-6; Saguchi, 1955, p. 134.

175. Wei Kang 危燭

Tzu Ch'ui-hu 吹簾 (or is this a soubriquet?).  
Of Ch'in-ch'eng 琴城, wrote 1775 preface to my no. 27.

176. Chiang Yüan-lung 蔣元龍

Tzu Ch'un-yü 春雨. Of Hsiu-chou 秀州 (Kiangsu?).

Wrote 1775 preface to my no. 14; and possibly mentioned by Ma Shih-fang in his 1773 note to no. 54.

177. Yang Ming-sheng 楊鳴盛

Of Yen-shan 燕山 (Peking). Mentioned in 1775 preface by Chiang to no. 14; and possibly by Ma Shih-fang in his 1773 note to no. 54.

178. Ma Shih-fang 馬士芳

Tzu Hua-ch'uan 華川, chang-chiao 掌教 (community leader) of Wu-lin 武林 hsien (Hangchow), possibly originally of Hsien-yang 咸陽 hsien, Lung-hsi 隴西 i.e. Sian, (Shensi).

Wrote 1776 preface to Liu Chih's "Prophet"; and a 1773 note to Chin T'ien-chu's no. 54. Mentioned also in 1775 preface by Chiang to my no. 14.

179. YÜAN KUO-TSU 袁國祚

Ming (?) Erh 二, hao Ching-ch'u 景初; of Shih-ch'eng 石城 (Nanking), owner of hat shop; c. 1710-1811?

Son of Tsung-tai 宗岱, grandson of Ju-ch'i 汝琦, with older brother Kuo-yü 國裕; related on his maternal side to Liu Chih.

Edited and published several of Liu Chih's works, writing several prefaces and postscripts, esp. for "Prophet", 1778-1785; also a 1809 preface to Liu's no. 38; and connected with 1811 edition of the "Compass".

See also Pelliot, TP 21 (1922), pp. 418-419; and memorials and edicts in pre-volume to "Prophet".

180. Liu Ming-ch'ing 劉名 (or 鳴) 清  
Mentioned in 1781 memorials of Sa-tsai, etc. (in "Prophet", preface volume).

181. Kai Shao-hsien 改紹賢  
Tzu Hsün-chai 恂齋, of Hua-t'ing 華亭 hsien  
(Sung-chiang fu, Kiangsu).

Wrote preface 1777 to "Prophet". Interrogated in 1782 by high officials (see Sa-tsai memorial in "Prophet").

182. T'an Tsai-wen 譚在文  
Of Chinkiang, Kiangsu; interrogated in 1782 (see memorials in "Prophet").

183. Li T'ing-hsiang 李廷祥  
Of Wu-men 吳門 (Suchow, Kiangsu).  
Together with Shih-chi 士基 and two other sons, and five grandsons, Ssu-hsiao 思孝, etc., wrote 1780 preface to my no. 14.

184. Ma Chung-chi 馬中吉 (or Chung-chieh 中傑)

185. Ma Chung-chün 中俊  
Elder brother of Chung-chi.

186. Ma Ch'eng-kuei 成貴  
Father of above two.

187. Ma Chao-p'u 照普  
Adopted son of his uncle Ma Yen 焉

188. Ma Yen 焉

189. Ma Kuang-wen 廣文

190. Ma Kuang-yu 廣友  
Elder brother of Kuang-wen.

191. Ma Chia-ts'un 家村

All the above (184-191) of the Ma 馬 family were in Ch'ang-an, fl. 1780 (1762-1782); (from 1781 memorial in preface volume to 1872 edition of the "Prophet", Toyo Bunko).

192. Wang Tsun 王懋

Wrote 1783 preface to "Prophet" (see Vissière, in d'Ollone, p. 413).

193. Ha Kuo-hsing 哈國興

Military chin-shih of 1752. Of Jen-ch'iu 任邱 hsien, or Su-ning 肅寧 hsien, Ho-chien fu, Hopei; son of Ha P'an-lung 攀龍; posthumous title chuang-wu 壯武. Brigadier in Yunnan in 1767; Commandant, in Kweichow in 1768, in Sian in 1772.

Does not appear in our Muslim books.

Biographies in Li Huan, pp. 9490-3; Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 48a-b; Pai, 1948, pp. 315-7; Fu, pp. 151-2; Nakada, pp. 68-70; CKJMTTT, pp. 634-5; CSLC, 24, p. 9; Yunnan Provincial Gazetteer, 123, pp. 9b, 12a, 13a, 16a; and elsewhere.

194. Hai Fu-jun 海富潤

Of Yai-chou 崖州 (Kwangtung), c. 1784. In memorials of Chu Ch'un, etc., in "Prophet", etc.

195. T'ien Wu 田五  
Follower of New Teaching, of Ku-yüan 固原 chou, Kansu.  
Rebelled, died c. 1784. See memorial of Sa-tsai in preface  
volume of "Prophet", etc.; and Saguchi, 1955, p. 136.

196. Su Ssu-shih-san 蘇四十三  
Rebel, c. 1781-3. See Saguchi, 1955, p. 134.

197. Sha T'an 沙琛  
Tzu Hsien-ju 廌如, hao Hsüeh-hu 雪湖, chü-jen  
of 1780. Son of Sha Ch'ao-chün. 朝俊; of T'ai-ho 太和 (Tali),  
Yunnan.

Magistrate of Huai-yüan 懷遠 hsien, Ying-chou fu, Anhwei,  
1801; also served in Ho-ch'iu 霍邱 hsien, Huai-ning 懷寧  
hsien, Chien-te 建德 hsien, and Ho-fei 合肥 hsien  
(according to Pai). Wrote 點蒼山人詩鈔, in 8 vols.,  
still extant (according to Pai).

Not mentioned in our Muslim books.

See Pai Shou-i, 1948, pp. 305-7; Yunnan Provincial  
Gazetteer, 1826, vol. 153, pp. 18b-19a; Anhwei Provincial  
Gazetteer, vol. 131, p. 8b.

198. Hsü Shih-heng 許世亨  
Of Hsin-tu 新都 (Chengtu), Szechwan.  
Died in Annam; brigadier in Yunnan in 1776; Commandant in  
Kwangsi in 1788. Son Wen-mo 文謨 was naval commandant in  
Fukien.

Does not appear in our Muslim books; but ancestors were  
Muslims.

See Li Huan-i, 2, pp. 49a-b; Pai, pp. 318-9; Nakada,  
pp. 73, 84; Fu, pp. 153-4; Li Huan, pp. 11106-9; CKJMTT, p. 1029;  
Yunnan Provincial Gazetteer, vol. 123, p. 26b; Hsin-tu hsien-chih,  
vol. 9 (not seen); Ch'eng-tu hsien-chih, vol. 6 (not seen).

199. Ho Tui 鄂對  
Fl. 1754; son Ssu-man 斯滿.  
See Li Huan-i, 2, 50a-51b.

200. Sa Lung-kuang 薩龍光  
Tzu Chao-ts'ao 肇藻; of Min 閩 hsien, (Fu-chou fu),  
Fukien. Chin-shih of 1781, served in Han-lin Academy. Served  
in Ch'iu-hsiung 楚雄 fu, Yunnan, and in Kweichow. Died in  
1797.

Does not figure in our Muslim books; but his ancestors were  
Ta-shih-man 荅失蠻, i.e. Muslims.

See Nakada, pp. 69-70; Li Huan, pp. 5820-1.

The following eight do not appear in our Muslim books. I  
have included them because Lan Tzu-hsi has published epitaphs for  
them.

201. Ts'ai Ku-t'ai 蔡姑太  
Of Ching-yang 景陽, Shensi. Fl. 18th Century?  
See Lan Tzu-hsi, p. 49.

202. Ku Kuang-hsü 顧光旭  
Tzu Ming-tao 明道, of Hsi-ning 西甯, Kansu; fl.  
18th Century?

Served in Szechwan.

See Lan, pp. 49-50.

203. Lo Ts'un-li 羅存理  
Hao Shen-ku 神谷, of Kwangsi; fl. 18th Century?  
See Lan, p. 50.
204. Li Pen-hsien 李本顯  
Tzu Chen-yüeh 真樂, of Pin-chou 邠州, Shensi.  
Born in 1755.  
See Lan, pp. 51-2.
205. Ma Chi-an 馬吉安  
Hao Shen-tsung 神宗, of Sian; fl. 18th Century?  
See Lan, p. 52.
206. Cheng Ao 鄭熬  
Tzu Ming-te 明德, of Hsiang-fu 祥符 (Kaifeng), Honan;  
fl. 18th Century?  
See Lan, pp. 52-3.  
For the above six, Lan calls his biographies Mu-chih 墓誌  
tombstone epitaphs. Some are presumably extant.
207. Lan Ch'en 藍辰  
Tzu Pei-ch'in 北欽 (or Pai-ch'ing 伯卿 or Yin-ch'u  
寅初), hao Tou-t'ing 斗亭. Of Changsha, Hunan, 1782-1859.  
Magistrate of Yao-chou 姚州, Yunnan, with rank feng-chih  
ta-fu 奉直大夫 (grade 5b).  
Not in our Muslim books. Biography in Lan Tzu-hsi,  
pp. 53-4.

208. Ts'ai Ch'ü-yüan 蔡劬園  
Of Shao-yang 邵陽 hsien, Hunan, fl. 1779. Probably  
maternal grandfather of Lan Tzu-hsi.  
Does not figure in our Muslim books. See biography of Lan's  
mother, 1779-1860, in Lan, pp. 54-5.
209. Hsü Wen-mo 許文謨  
Of Chengtu, Szechwan.  
Son of Hsü Shih-heng 世亨; a naval t'i-tu in Fukien;  
fl. 1790-1795.  
See Nakada, p. 73; biography in Li Huan, pp. 10082-3; CKJMTTT,  
p. 1029.  
The following six do not figure in our Muslim books. Nakada  
lists them as Muslims because of their surnames.
210. Sa Te-fang 薩德芳  
Of Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, Yunnan. Officer in 1792, died in  
Kweichow in 1797.  
See Nakada, p. 69; Li Huan, p. 11222.
211. Ha Kuo-lung 哈國瓏  
Of Chiang-ning 江甯 (Nanking), Kiangsu. Lieutenant in  
Honan. Major in Liang-chou 涼州, Kansu, in 1800, died in  
Shensi in 1800.  
See Nakada, p. 69; Li Huan, p. 11342.
212. Hai Chin-lung 海進龍  
Of Ku-yüan 固原 chou, Kansu. Captain in 1799, died in  
1800.  
See Nakada, p. 69; Li Huan, p. 11359.



## 213. T'ieh Yen 鐵眼

Of Ku-yüan chou, Kansu. Died in battle in 1800.

See Nakada, p. 69; Li Huan, p. 11349.

## 214. T'ieh Ting 鐵鼎

Of Changan, Shensi. Shou-pei 守備 in Lien-yang 連

陽, Kwangtung. Died in 1799 in Ts'ang-ch'i 蒼谿 hsien,  
Szechwan.

See Nakada, p. 69; Li Huan, p. 11292.

## 215. Chiu T'ien-p'ei 酒天培

Of Cheng-ting 正定, Hopei. Captain in Shensi in 1801.

See Nakada, p. 70; Li Huan, p. 11370.

## 216. Ma Yü 馬瑜

Of Chang-yeh 張掖, Kansu, died 1819.

Active at end of 18th Century; a t'i-tu "commandant" in  
Chiangnan, 1819.

See Nakada, p. 71; Li Huan, pp. 10039-40; CSLC 31,  
pp. 1a-3a; CKJMTT, p. 869.

## 217. Ma Wei-yen 馬維衍

Tzu Shu-yüan 淑園, of Ku-yüan chou, Kansu.

Active c. 1800 and later.

See Nakada, p. 73; Ku-yüan chih-li chou-chih, chap. 9.  
(not seen).

## 218. Ma Chung-ch'i 馬鍾麒

Of Ling-t'ai 靈臺 hsien, Kansu. Active c. 1800 in  
Szechwan.

See Nakada, p. 72; Li Huan, p. 11235; and Ling-t'ai hsien-  
chih (not seen).

## Appendices to the Biographies

### (a) Muslims in non-Muslim sources

We have listed above chin-shih, chü-jen, military chin-shih and others, for whom there is evidence, convincing or otherwise, that they were or might have been Muslims. We have included all those claimed as Muslims by Pai Shou-i, Chin Chi-t'ang, and other Muslim scholars, and also those listed by Nakada on the grounds of surname alone. There can be little doubt that there were several others, Muslim degree holders, of whom, so far, we have no documentary knowledge.

Most convincing of those included in my lists are:

1. Ting P'eng, c-s of 1655.
2. Ma Shih-chün, c-s of 1661.
3. Hei Ming-feng, mil. c-s of 1703.
4. Sai Yü, c-j of 1729.
5. Ha P'an-lung, mil. c-s of 1737.
6. Ha Kuo-hsing, mil. c-s of 1752.
7. Hsieh Ch'i-yu, c-j of 1693.

I feel less convinced about :

8. Chan Ying-p'eng, c-s of 1616.
9. Chang Hsin, c-s of 1625.
10. Chang Tuan, c-s of 1643.
11. Wu Pen-li, c-s of 1670.
12. Hai Feng-chu, c-s of 1694.
13. Ma Ju-wei, c-s of 1703.
14. Chin Jung, c-s of 1730.
15. Sa Lung-kuang, c-s of 1781.
16. Liu Ching-kung (Fa-hsiang), c-j of 1684.
17. Shan Chung-t'ung, c-j of 1627.

18. Sha T'an, c-j of 1780.

To these Muslim degree holders, we should add kung-sheng who obtained posts as magistrate, etc. These include :

19. Ma Ming-yang, fl. 1628-1644.
20. Ma Yün-ch'ü, fl. 1621-8.
21. Ts'ai Hao-ming, fl. 1683.
22. Tsai Hao-ming, fl. 1683.
23. Sun P'eng, fl. 1708-32.
24. Ch'en Ta-chao, fl. 1724-38.
25. Sai Chih-ta, fl. 1728.
26. Li Shun, fl. 1733.

There were undoubtedly thousands of successful Muslim officers in the army and navy. The following (and there were surely several others) reached the rank of provincial commander-in-chief (or commandant) :

27. Ma Hsiung, fl. 1661-1674.
  28. Ma Chin-liang, fl. 1693-1707.
  29. Ma Ch'eng-yin, fl. 1680.
  30. Ma Ning, fl. 1673.
  31. Ha Yüan-sheng, fl. 1724-1735.
  32. Hsü Shih-heng, fl. 1776-88.
  33. Ma Ta-yung, fl. 1727.
  34. Yeh Ta-hsiung, fl. 1749.
  35. Hsü Wen-mo, fl. 1795.
  36. Ma Yü, fl. c. 1800.
- Brigadiers included:
37. Yen Ting-kuo, fl. 1704-8.
  38. Ha Shang-te, fl. 1744-1766.
  39. Ma Liang-chu, fl. 1751.

I have stressed the evidence obtained from the Muslim works in Chinese. However even more convincing are the references to hui, hui-hui, etc., in non-Muslim sources (see, e.g., Saguchi, 1955, based on the Shih-lu).

Further research is required. An exhaustive searching of local gazetteers, other geographical descriptions, the Shih-lu and other sources will, I am sure, unearth many further names, and add further information about those we already know or suspect to be Muslim.

(b) Non-Muslim Associates

It is of great significance that several chin-shih scholars wrote prefaces to Liu Chih's hsing-li and tien-li at the beginning of the 18th Century. The K'ang-hsi Emperor was probably more tolerant of religious minorities than his successors. The inspection by Ch'ien-lung of the "Prophet" and other works, mostly by Liu Chih, in 1782, is less convincing, for this was a time of Muslim rebellion and government repression. We should note that the prefaces to this work were by Muslims rather than high-ranking non-Muslim scholars.

Here is a list of the main non-Muslim officials associated with or mentioned in our Muslim books. Some earlier ones, notably Chan Ying-p'eng, Chang Hsin (and his son Chang Tuan), all three chin-shih, have been incorporated in my main lists, as there is some possibility that they were Muslims. It is possible but unlikely that one or two of the following were also in fact Muslims.

1. Wang Tse-hung 王澤弘 (宏), of Huang-pei 黃陂 hsien, Hupei; tzu Chuan-lai 涓來, 1655 chin-shih, c. 1627-1710. Preface to hsing-li, undated, and its supervisor. Biographies

appear in Chi-fu (Hopei) Provincial Gazetteer (Commercial Press, 1934), p. 3420; Li Huan 李桓, Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-cheng ch'u-pien 國朝耆獻類徵初編, 1966 Taipei reprint, pp. 3289-90.

2. Hsü Cho 徐倬, of Te-ch'ing 德清 hsien, Chekiang; tzu Fang-hu 方虎, 1673 chin-shih, 1623-1711; preface to tien-li, 1709. Biographies in Chekiang Provincial Gazetteer (1934), p. 3127; Li Huan, p. 3510.
3. Lu Yu 鹿右, of Ying-chou 潁州 fu, Anhwei; tzu Yu-shang 有上, 1682 chin-shih; preface to tien-li, c. 1708. Biography in Anhwei Provincial Gazetteer, 1878, chap. 199, p. 9b.
4. Hsü Yüan-cheng 徐元正, of Te-ch'ing hsien, Chekiang, son of Cho; tzu Tzu-chen 子貞, 1685 chin-shih, c. 1653-1730; preface to hsing-li, 1708, and its supervisor. Biography in Chekiang Provincial Gazetteer (1934), p. 3128.
5. Ch'iu Chao-ao 仇兆鰲, of Yin 鄞 hsien (Ningpo), Chekiang; tzu Ts'ang-chu 滄柱, 1685 chin-shih; preface to Hei's Hsing-li pen-ching chu-shih, 1707. Biographies in Chekiang Provincial Gazetteer (1934), p. 2831; Li Huan, p. 3606.
6. Ching Jih-cheng 景日珍, of Teng-feng 登封 hsien, Honan; tzu Tung-yang 東陽, 1691 chin-shih; preface to tien-li, c. 1707.

In addition to these friendly scholars, we should perhaps mention that several high officials are named in the Edicts and Memorials (in the pre-volume to the "Prophet", see my section 7) concerned with the Muslims. Around 1781-4 in particular, we find:

7. Yao Ch'eng-lieh 姚成烈, governor of Hupei; see Li Huan, pp. 4268-4271.
8. Chu Ch'un 朱椿, governor of Kwangsi; see Li Huan, pp. 4279-4281 (with mention of the "Prophet").

9. Pi Yüan 畢沅, governor of Shensi; see Li Huan, pp. 6724-6731; Hummel, ECCP, pp. 622-5.
10. Min O-yüan 閔鶚元, governor of Kiangsu; see Li Huan, pp. 6628-6630.
11. Sa-tsai 薩載, (Manchu) governor-general of Kiangsu and Anhwei; see Li Huan, pp. 6636-6647.

(c) Early Ming

I have excluded from my main lists all Muslims earlier than 1600, for our Muslim books in Chinese were written only after this time. Here is a list of Ming personalities to 1600 claimed by our main secondary sources as Muslims.

I cite:

T'ang : T'ang Chuan-yu in Chin T'ien-chu (attributed), Ch'ing-chen shih-i pu-chi, c. 1880.

Li : Li Huan-i, Ch'ing-chen hsien-cheng yen-hsing lüeh, 1875.

Chin : Chin Chi-t'ang, Chung-kuo hui-chiao shih yen-chiu, 1935.

Pai : Pai Shou-i, Chung-kuo I-ssu-lan shih kang-yao tz'u-liao, 1948, and cf. his works of 1944 and 1946.

Fu : Fu T'ung-hsien, Chung-kuo hui-chiao shih, 1940.

- |    |                     |   |       |    |      |     |
|----|---------------------|---|-------|----|------|-----|
| 1. | Ch'ang Yü-ch'un 常遇春 | : | T'ang | Li | Pai  | Fu  |
| 2. | Mu Ying 沐英          | : | T'ang | Li |      | Fu  |
| 3. | Cheng Ho 鄭和         | : | T'ang |    |      | Fu  |
| 4. | Ma Huan 馬歡          | : |       |    | Chin |     |
| 5. | Ma Wen-sheng 馬文升    | : |       |    |      | Pai |
| 6. | Sai Ha-chih 賽哈智     | : | T'ang | Li |      |     |
| 7. | I-pu-la-chin 亦卜剌金   | : | T'ang | Li |      |     |
| 8. | Mu Hsin 沐昕          | : | T'ang |    |      |     |

- |     |                    |   |       |    |      |        |
|-----|--------------------|---|-------|----|------|--------|
| 9.  | Wu Liang 吳諒        | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 10. | Ch'ang Mao 常茂      | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 11. | Ting Te-hsing 丁德興  | : |       | Li |      |        |
| 12. | Ma Ha-ma 馬哈麻       | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 13. | Mu Ch'un 沐春        | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 14. | Hai Yüan-shan 海源善  | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 15. | T'ieh Hsüan 鐵鉉     | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 16. | P'ing An 平安        | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 17. | Mu Ch'eng 沐晟       | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 18. | Mu Ang 沐昂          | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 19. | Sha Yü 沙玉          | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 20. | Hui Ch'ien 回謙      | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 21. | Shan Mao 鮑茂        | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 22. | Ch'en Ta-ts'e 陳大策  | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 23. | Wang Huan 王環       | : |       | Li |      |        |
| 24. | Sha Chin 沙金        | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 25. | Hei Ch'un 黑春       | : |       | Li |      |        |
| 26. | Ma Tzu-ch'iang 馬自強 | : |       | Li |      |        |
| 27. | Ta Yün 達雲          | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 28. | Chin Ta-ch'e 金大車   | : |       |    | Chin | Pai Fu |
| 29. | Ma Chi-lung 馬繼龍    | : |       |    |      | Pai    |
| 30. | Hu Ta-hai 胡大海      | : |       |    |      | Pai Fu |
| 31. | Chin Ta-yü 金大輿     | : |       |    |      | Pai Fu |
| 32. | Ma Kuei 麻貴         | : |       |    |      | Pai    |
| 33. | Sun Chi-lu 孫繼魯     | : |       |    |      | Pai    |
| 34. | Ma-sha-i-hei 馬沙亦黑  | : | T'ang |    |      |        |
| 35. | Sha K'un-jui 沙坤瑞   | : | T'ang | Li |      |        |
| 36. | Chan Ni 詹沂         | : |       |    |      | Pai    |
| 37. | Mu Na 木納           | : |       |    | Chin |        |

38. Hai Jui 海瑞 : Chin
39. Shao Mou-chien 鎖懋堅 : Chin
40. Ting Chih-han 丁之翰 : Chin
41. Shan Chi-ti 閃繼迪 : Chin Pai

I add, no doubt out of hundreds who appear somewhere in Chinese sources, Muslim and non-Muslim :

42. Mi Fei 米芾
43. Chiu Ying 酒英
44. Lan Yü
45. Wang Ao 王鏊
46. Li Shih-jung 李時榮
47. Cheng Hou 鄭厚
48. Wang Chieh 王浹

A detailed analysis of Muslim steles of the Ming and Ch'ing will surely add further names for the Ming pre-1600 and also some missed in my main lists.

(d) Late Ch'ing

I have also excluded all 19th and 20th Century Muslim personalities. Here are some of those discussed by the main secondary writers mentioned in the previous section, and by Nakada Yoshinobu in Tōyō Gakuhō 36 (1953).

- |     |                     |   |        |      |     |
|-----|---------------------|---|--------|------|-----|
| 1.  | Hai Yün 海雲          | : | Nakada |      |     |
| 2.  | Ma Hsin-i 馬新貽       | : | Nakada | Pai  | Fu  |
| 3.  | Ma Lien-hai 馬聯海     | : | Nakada |      | Fu  |
| 4.  | Ma Te-hsin 馬德新      | : |        | Chin | Fu  |
| 5.  | Ma Lien-yüan 馬聯元    | : |        | Chin | Fu  |
| 6.  | Hu K'un-yüan 虎坤元    | : | Nakada |      |     |
| 7.  | Ma Ju-lung 馬如龍      | : | Nakada |      | Fu  |
| 8.  | Ma Fu-lu 馬福祿        | : | Nakada | Pai  |     |
| 9.  | Ha Kuo-lin 哈國霖      | : | Nakada |      |     |
| 10. | Tso Pao-kuei 左寶貴    | : | Nakada | Chin | Pai |
| 11. | Ma Tien-chia 馬殿甲    | : |        |      | Li  |
| 12. | Hung Meng-ling 洪夢齡  | : |        |      | Li  |
| 13. | Chou T'ien-shou 周天受 | : |        |      | Li  |
| 14. | Sha Ch'un-yüan 沙春元  | : |        |      | Li  |
| 15. | Mai Hui-hui 賣回回     | : |        |      | Li  |
| 16. | Tsu Chung-kuang 筮重光 | : |        |      | Li  |
| 17. | Kai Ch'i 改琦         | : | Nakada | Chin |     |
| 18. | Ma Kuang-tao 馬光燾    | : | Nakada | Chin |     |
| 19. | Hsieh Ch'un-li 薛春梨  | : | Nakada | Chin | Fu  |
| 20. | Hsieh Shih-yü 薛時雨   | : |        | Chin | Fu  |
| 21. | Chang Shu-ho 張舒和    | : | Nakada | Chin | Fu  |
| 22. | Yüan Mei-an 宛梅菴     | : |        | Chin |     |
| 23. | Shan Tien-kuei 閃殿魁  | : | Nakada |      |     |

24. Tu Wen-hsiu 杜文秀 : Chin  
25. T'ang Chuan-yu 唐傳猷 : Nakada Chin  
26. Chiang Ch'ang-kuei 江長貴 : Nakada Chin  
27. Cheng Kuei-shih 鄭魁士 : Nakada Chin  
28. Ma Chien 馬建 : Nakada Chin  
29. Shan Tien-t'ao 閃殿套 : Nakada Chin  
30. Ma Chi-mei 馬繼美 : Nakada Chin  
31. Ma Hai-an 馬海晏 : Nakada Chin

For the Muslim personalities, scholars, officers and rebels, of this period, a further analysis is clearly needed.

#### APPENDICES

- 127
6. Liu Chih's Chih-sheng shih-lu (the "Prophet"), volume 19  
and volume 20

(a) Volume 19

This includes section T'ien-fang sheng-kuo feng-t'u  
k'ao-cheng lüeh 天方聖國風土考證畧 ;  
and Appendix fu-lu 附錄 , entitled Kuo-ming 國名 , analysed  
below.

A minute portion of this is found in Liu's tien-li, vol. 1,  
pp. 14-5; some portions in Wang Tai-yü, my no. 4, preface volume;  
some in Mu Ju-kuei, my 58; and almost all of it in Sun K'o-an,  
my no. 32 (written in pseudo-archaic characters, but with slightly  
more information for the sources). The whole of Liu's vol. 19  
(though not vol. 20) has been translated into Japanese by  
Tanaka Ippei, pp. 385-391, 392-411.

This is a valuable though secondary collection for the  
Chinese knowledge of Islam and Islamic countries in the Ming  
and earlier. It still needs to be checked against the original  
sources, in particular that by Ma Huan, usually more detailed.<sup>16</sup>

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16. Two of the key Chinese works on foreign countries have been  
translated into English : Chu-fan-chih 諸蕃志, by Chao Ju-kua  
趙汝适 , 1225, see F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, Chau-Ju-kua :  
His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth  
Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi, 1911 (1966 reprint); and Ying-yai  
sheng-lan 瀛涯勝覽 by Ma Huan 馬歡 , see J.V.G. Mills,  
Ma Huan, Ying-yai sheng-lan : 'The Overall Survey of the Ocean's  
Shores' (1433), 1970. The former does not relate to our Muslim  
sources, the latter quite closely, as I indicate in the text.

Here is a (preliminary and partial) key to the original sources referred to:

- A. Chi-lu hui-pien 紀錄彙編  
1617, by Shen Chieh-fu 沈節甫, 1533-1601, chin-shih of 1559.
- B. Pa-hsien i-shih 八絃譯史  
By Lu Tz'u-yün 陸次雲
- C. Wu-hsüeh pien 吾學編  
By Cheng Hsiao 鄭曉 of Hai-yen 海鹽 hsien (Chekiang), (c. 1552).
- D. Ch'ien-ch'üeh lei-shu 潛確類書  
By Ch'en Ming-ch'ing 陳明卿 (Jen-hsi 仁錫, 1579-1634).
- E. (Hsi-yang fan-kuo-chih 西洋番國志)  
1434, by Kung Chen 鞏珍 (not in our works, but see Mills, pp. 56-59).

16 (continued)

Mills, esp. pp. 54-64, is useful for a comparison of sources, and refers to our main sources A, C (and E, H, N, T), but not B, D. See his bibliography for works by Pelliot, Rockhill, Feng Ch'eng-chün 馮承鈞, and others. See also biographies of Shen Chieh-fu (by Lienche Tu Fang), Ma Huan and Fei Hsin (by Wang Gungwu), in Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644, 2 vols., 1976, ed. by L.C. Goodrich with Chaoying Fang; and W. Franke, "Some Remarks on Chinese Historical Sources in Southeast Asia", pp. 155-167 in Transition and Permanence: Chinese History and Culture (Festschrift Hsiao Kung-Ch'üan), ed. D.C. Buxbaum and F.W. Mote, 1972.

With the help of Mills and others, I have given some of the details of the works mentioned. I would stress that I have not analysed the works on overseas countries per se, I am merely listing the works as found in our Muslim sources, the "Prophet", etc.

- F. (Ming-ch'ao) Shih-fa lu 明朝世法錄  
Also by Ch'en Jen-hsi.
- G. (Ming-ch'ao) Tien-ku 明朝典故  
By Chu Tang-mien 朱當澍, (fl. 1522-1544?).
- H. Hsing-ch'a sheng-lan 星槎勝覽  
1436, by Fei Hsin 費信 (1388-1436?, see Mills, pp. 59-64).
- I. Wen-yüan hsiao-hsiang 文苑瀟湘
- J. Ta-Ming I-t'ung-chih 大明一統志  
1461.
- K. Li-tai hsiao-shih 歷代小史
- L. Feng-chou hui-yüan 鳳洲彙苑
- M. (Ming-ch'ao) Hui-tien 明朝會典
- N. Ku-chin shuo-hai 古今說海  
1544, by Lu Chi 陸楫.
- O. Chih-fang wai-chi 職方外紀
- P. Liu-shih hung-shu 劉氏鴻書  
By Liu Chung-ta 劉仲達.
- Q. Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao 七修類藁  
By Lang Ying 郎瑛, 1487-1566.
- R. Yung-hua lei-pien 泳化類編
- S. Ming pai-kuan k'ao 明百官考
- T. Ying-yai sheng-lan 瀛涯勝覽

This last work, by Ma Huan, is hardly ever referred to in our Muslim sources, possibly taken for granted, or possibly because



Liu used mainly A, a 1617 work which had incorporated Ma Huan's 1433 work. In fact, several of our items are abbreviated versions of what is given by Ma Huan, translated by Mills.

The text in vol. 19 is as follows:

1. Hsi-shih chi 西使記 by Liu Yu 劉郁 in 1263  
pp. 12a-17a.

2. T'ien-fang kuo 天方國 (Mecca)  
pp. 17a-20b; also my no. 4, pp. 4b-6a, no. 32, pp. 1a-5a.  
From A, chap. 63 (or 62?), C, chap. 60, D, chap. 13,  
J, chap. 90, G, chap. 105, F, chap. 81, K, chap. 102.  
See also Mills, pp. 173-8; and H. Kopsch, "The Kaaba or Great Shrine at Mecca", China Review 1885, pp. 95-103.

3. Mo-te-na 默德那 or 墨底納 (Medina)  
pp. 20b-21a; also no. 32, pp. 6a-7a.  
From D, chap. 13, J, chap. 90, C.

4. Hu-lu-mo-ssu kuo 忽魯謨斯 (Hormuz)  
pp. 21a-23a; also no. 32, pp. 8a-9b.  
From A, chap. 62, B.  
See also Mills, pp. 165-172.

5. Ku-li kuo 古理 (Calicut)  
pp. 23b-24a; also no. 32, pp. 17a-18a.  
From A, chap. 62, G, chap. 104.  
See also Mills, pp. 137-146.

6. Ha-lieh kuo 哈烈 (Pu-ha-la 補哈喇 i.e. Bukhara)  
pp. 24a-25b; also no. 32, pp. 19a-20b.  
From C, chap. 68.

7. Sa-ma-erh-han 撒馬兒罕 (Samarkand)  
pp. 25b-28a; also no. 32, pp. 10a-11a.  
From C, chap. 68, F, chap. 81, L, chap. 6b, B.

8. Su-men-ta-la 蘇門答刺 (Semudera)  
pp. 28a-29a.

From B.

See also Mills, pp. 115-121.

9. Wu-in-tu 五印度  
pp. 29a-30b.

From B.

10. Pang-ke-la kuo 榜葛刺 (Bengal)  
pp. 30b-33a; also no. 32, 12a-14b.  
From A, chap. 61, C, chap. 60, F, chap. 81, B, I.  
See also Mills, pp. 159-165.

11. P'o-ni kuo 淳泥 (Brunei)  
pp. 33a-34a; also no. 32, pp. 15a-b.  
From C, chap. 68, M, chap. 98.

12. Nan-ni-li kuo 南泥里  
pp. 34a-b; also no. 32, pp. 16a-b.  
From C.

13. Tsu-fa-erh kuo 祖法兒 (Dhufar)  
pp. 34b-35b; also no. 32, 21a-22a.  
From C, chap. 68, A.  
See also Mills, pp. 151-3.

14. A-tan kuo 阿丹 (Aden)  
pp. 35b-37a; also no. 32, pp. 23a-24b.  
From A, chap. 62, H, chap. 4, N.  
See also Mills, pp. 154-9.
15. Man-la-chia kuo 滿刺加 (Malacca)  
pp. 37a-b; also no. 32, p. 25a.  
From A, chap. 62.  
See also Mills, pp. 108-114.
16. Liu-shan kuo 溜山 (Maldiva and Laccadive Islands)  
pp. 37b-38a; also no. 32, p. 26a.  
From A, chap. 62, C, chap. 68.  
See also Mills, pp. 146-151.
17. Ya-lu kuo 噶魯 (Aru, Deli)  
pp. 38a-b.  
From A.  
See also Mills, pp. 114-5.
18. Fu-lin 拂菻
- pp. 38b-39a.  
From B.
19. Hui-hui kuo 回回國  
pp. 39a-b; also no. 32, pp. 27a-b.  
From O, chap. 1.
20. Ha-mi kuo 哈密  
pp. 39b-40b.  
From B.

21. Hui-ku kuo 回鶻 (Uighur land)  
pp. 40b-41a; also no. 4, pp. 3b-4b.  
From P, chap. 8.
22. Hui-hui chiao 回回教 (Islam)  
pp. 41a-b; also no. 4, pp. 2b-3b, no. 32, pp. 28a-b.  
From Q, chap. 18. See translation in Vissière, 1913, pp. 99-100.
23. Hui-hui li 回回曆 (Islamic Calendar)  
p. 42a; cf. also no. 4, pp. 6b-7a, no. 32, pp. 53a-b;  
From R, chap. 90 (Astronomy).
24. Hui-hui ch'in-t'ien-chien 回回欽天監  
p. 42b; also no. 32, p. 53a.  
From C, chap. 60, S.

This, entitled Tsan-sung p'ei-chi hsü-shuo 讚頌碑記

序說, is a collection of inscriptions, prefaces and pamphlets,

mainly by Muslim authors, mostly of the Ming. Several are also found in Sun K'o-an, my no. 32; and a few in my 54a (Part II) and elsewhere. We should note, however, that Liu (or his editor Yüan) has only included a few of the available inscriptions (see my preliminary analysis of steles in Abr-Nahrain, 1976).

1. Yü-chih chih-sheng Pai-tzu-tsan 御製至聖百字讚

(labelled in the Table of Contents as Ming Kao Huang-ti Pai-tzu-tsan

明高皇帝百字讚); pp. 1a-1b; also in my no. 54a, II, pp. 34b-35a; tien-li, vol. 1, pp. 12-13; no. 32, pp. 54a-b; no. 4, pp. 1a-b.

This was inscribed in the Nanking mosque, attributed to the Hung-wu Emperor in 1368; it was also copied in Wuchang in 1375 and elsewhere (see Friends of Moslems 11, 2 (April 1937), p. 39).

2. Ch'ih-kao ch'ing-hsiu-ssu hu chih-wen 勅誥清修寺護持

文 (labelled in T of C as Ming T'ai-tsung ch'ih-yü 明太

宗勅諭); pp. 1b-2a; also in no. 32, pp. 40a-b, and 54a, p. 39b, but dated as 1407; and in Wu Wen-liang, p. 21, and Fu T'ung-hsien, p. 92, from Ch'üan-chou, 1407. Imperial edict of Yung-lo in 1405.

A further 1405 inscription, also from Sian, not given in the "Prophet" but in no. 32, pp. 56a-b, and 54a, pp. 38a-b, is translated in Broomhall, p. 91.

3. Ming Wu-tsung huang-ti p'ing 明武宗皇帝評

p. 2a; and no. 4, pp. 2a-b; an abbreviated version, but with additions, is in tien-li, p. 13.

Transmitted in 1519 by Ch'en Ta-ts'e 陳大策.

4. Ch'ih hui-hui t'ai-shih wen 勅回回太師文

pp. 2a-4a; last part only in tien-li, p. 13, attributed to Yung-lo; in no. 32, pp. 51a-52a, 41a-45a, which adds some material about Cheng Ho and the Sayyid Edjell; and in no. 54a, pp. 35b-36a, 38b-39b. There are three parts, 1382 concerning Ma-sha-i-hei 馬沙亦黑 (see also no. 54a, pp. 47b-48a), a portion of the Yüan-shih biography of Edjell, and 1405 by Cheng Ho about Edjell. Most of this is translated in d'Ollone, pp. 25-40, 82-85.

5. Hui-hui t'ien-wen shu-hsü 回回天文書序

pp. 4a-7a; also in no. 32, pp. 46a-50b; no. 54a, pp. 36a-38a.

(a) 1383 preface by Wu Po-tsung 吳伯宗, appointed Han-lin chien-t'ao 檢討 "inspector" in 1371.

(b) 1383 preface Hui-hui t'ien-wen ching-hsü 經序, by Ma-sha-i-hei, appointed astronomer in 1371.

6. Ch'ih-chien ch'ing-chen-ssu p'ei-chi (Hsi-an fu) 勅建清真寺碑記 (T of C has p'ei-wen 碑文); pp. 7a-8b; no. 32, pp. 31a-33b; 54a, pp. 20a-21a; and various rubbings of the extant Sian stele in the Great Eastern mosque.

Attributed to chin-shih Wang Hung 王鈇, 742. But probably between 1385 and 1526, according to Kuwabara Jitsuzō 桑原隲藏, in Geibun 藝文 3, 7 (1912), pp. 47-55, and Tazaka Kōdō, pp. 1338-9. Translations by Broomhall, 1910, pp. 84-90, Mason, 1921, pp. 276-81, JNCBRAS 60 (1929), pp. 61-3.

7. Ch'ih-tzu ch'ing-hsiu-ssu chung-hsiu p'ei-chi (Kuan-chung)

勅賜清修寺重修碑記

pp. 9a-10b; 32, pp. 34a-35b; 54a, pp. 41b-42b.

By Li Shih-jung 李時榮 of the Kuo-tzu-chien 國子監, "Academician", 1526. From the Ch'ing-hsiu-ssu mosque in Sian, but is the stele extant?

8. Ch'ih-chien huai-sheng kuang-ta ssu p'ei-chi

勅建懷聖光大寺碑記

Only listed in the Table of Contents; none of the editions I have seen include it in the text. This Canton stele is perhaps the bilingual one of 1350 by Kuo Chia 郭嘉, reproduced and translated by H.D. Himly, ZDMG 41 (1887), pp. 141-174, discussed in detail by P. Pelliot, JA 1913, pp. 177-191, Pai Shou-i, 1948, chap. 9, Fu T'ung-hsien, pp. 46-8, Ma I-yü, in Tung-fang tsa-chih 42, 3 (1946), pp. 44-5, Dabry de Thiersant, I, pp. 88-94.

9. Ch'ih-chien ching-chüeh li-pai erh-ssu p'ei-chi

(Ying-t'ien fu) 勅建淨學禮拜二寺碑記

(a) pp. 12a-b; no. 32, pp. 39a-b; no. 54a, pp. 39b-40a.

This, the earlier of two Nanking inscriptions, with title

Ch'ih t'ai-chien Cheng Ho chung-chien li-pai-ssu 勅太監鄭和

重建禮拜寺, is dated 1430. Translation by P.C. Low in

Friends of Moslems 15, 1 (Jan. 1941), p. 3.

(b) pp. 10b-12a; no. 32, pp. 36a-38a; no. 54a, pp. 40a-41b.

The second inscription, for the Ching-chüeh-ssu mosque or possibly for both mosques, dated 1492, is by Wang Ao 王鏊, chin-shih of 1475, of Wu-chün 吳郡 (Suchow), Kiangsu. Its authenticity has been queried by Kuwata Rokurō, 1926, pp. 127-8, and by Pelliot, TP (1948), pp. 236-7.

10. (Ch'ih-chien) chen-chiao-ssu p'ei-chi 勅建真教寺碑記

This Hangchow inscription, 4 folios, is found in different positions (at end of vol. 20, or end of vol. 19) in different editions, though never missing in the copies I have seen.

By Ting P'eng 丁澎, Muslim chin-shih of 1655, dated 1670.

Translated in Vissière, 1913, pp. 132-140.

11. T'ien-fang sheng-chiao hsü

My no. 3.

12. T'ien-fang fu 天房賦

Possibly T'ien-fang chao-t'ang fu 天方朝堂賦; pp. 14b-15a gives a summary. I know no other reference.

13. Ch'ing-chen chiao-k'ao hsü (lu-chiu)

My no. 1.

14. Ch'ün-shu hui-chi shih-i pa (lu-chiu)

My no. 2.

15. Ch'ing-chen chiao-shuo

My no. 23.

16. Hui-hui shuo

My no. 40.

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7. Imperial Edicts and Memorials

The major Imperial edicts Shang-yü 上諭 and memorials to the throne by senior officials which concern the Muslims have been collected together in the following works, with minor variations:

1. Liu Chih, (T'ien-fang) Chih-sheng shih-lu (my no. 37) (e.g. 1874 edition)
2. Ma Po-liang, Chiao-k'uan chieh-yao (my no. 15) (1817 edition)
3. Wang Tai-yü, Cheng-chiao chen-ch'üan (my no. 4) (e.g. 1877 edition)
4. Sun K'o-an (and Shen Feng-i), Ch'ing-chen chiao-k'ao (my no. 32, 32a) (1838 edition)
5. Chin T'ien-chu (attributed), Ch'ing-chen shih-i pu-chi (my 54a) (1885)
6. Mu Ju-kuei, Ch'ing-chen chi-lu shan-i (my no. 58) (1837 edition, held in Oxford).

The edicts are not included in all editions, and some are simply reprints of a 28 folio collection, put as a pre-volume, clearly unconnected with the original author. It is not certain which of the above should be considered the first version. Most likely is that by Liu Chih or rather his editor Yüan Kuo-tsu in about 1785, though it only includes the 1781-4 ones, and has some additional material.

The main edicts and memorials are:

K'ang-hsi 33 (1694), 6th month, 7th day (Chin)

Yung-cheng 7 (1729), 4th month, 7th day (Ma, Wang, Sun, Chin, Mu)

Yung-cheng 8 (1730), 5th month, 10th day (Ma, Sun, Chin, Mu)

Yung-cheng 8 (1730), 7th month, 11th day (Ma, Wang, Sun, Chin)

Ch'ien-lung 46 (1781), 5th month, 7th day (Ma, Wang, Sun, Liu, Chin)

Ch'ien-lung 46 (1781), 6th month, 14th day (Liu)

Ch'ien-lung 47 (1782), 6th month, 9th day (Ma, Wang, Sun, Liu, Mu)

Ch'ien-lung 47 (1782), 6th month, 25th day (Ma, Wang, Sun, Liu, Mu, Chin)

Ch'ien-lung 47 (1782), 6th month, 27th day (Ma, Wang, Sun, Liu, Chin)

Ch'ien-lung 49 (1784), 6th month, 1st day (Ma, Wang, Sun, Liu, Chin).

There is, of course, a lot of repetition between the official memorials and Imperial edicts in response, in particular for 1781-4, which take up the bulk of the material. Liu's "Prophet" includes memorials not found in the other collections.

The main memorial for Yung-cheng, 1730.6.20, was by Chao Shih-ying 趙士英 and Chao Ting-jui 廷瑞 mentioning Sun Chia-kan 孫嘉淦 and Lu Kuo-hua 魯國華 (in Ma, Wang, Sun, Chin, Mu).

For 1781-4, we have memorials to Ch'ien-lung by Pi Yüan 畢沅, Governor of Shensi, 1781.6.14; Chu Ch'un 朱椿,

Governor of Kwangsi, 1782.5.11; Min O-yüan 閔鶚元, Governor of Kiangsu, and Sa-tsai 薩載, Manchu Governor-General of Kiangsu, Kiangsi and Anhwei, 1782.6.18; and Yao Ch'eng-lieh 姚成烈, Governor of Hupei, 1782.6.9, (all in Liu's "Prophet", some in the other collections.)

Fu T'ung-hsien, 1940, pp. 115-123, includes several of the edicts. A text and translation of the K'ang-hsi edict is found in Friends of Moslems 11, 3 (July 1937), p. 57. Pickens, pp. 30-32, has listed references to Edicts concerning the Muslims for 1781-4 in the Ch'ing Shih-lu (Veritable Records), books 30-33. See also Saguchi Tōru 佐口透, "Chūgoku Musurimu shakai no issokumen" 中國ムスリム社會の一側面 in Nairiku Ajia no kenkyū, 1955, pp. 123-165. He has collected a large number of items concerning Muslims in the Ch'ing Shih-lu from the 1640's to 1890's. These sources need to be compared with our Muslim works, which omit some of the edicts found in the Shih-lu.

The New Teaching Muslim revolts of this time are dealt with by Wei Yüan 魏源, Sheng-wu chi 聖武記, 1842, chap. 7, trans. by Imbault-Huart in JA 1889, pp. 494-525, and see also J.J. de Groot, Sectarianism..., 1903-4, pp. 311 ff.; and Nakada Yoshinobu 中田吉信, 1971, pp. 81-84.

Joseph Ford is at present translating into English most of the important edicts. I owe a great deal to his valuable work, as yet unpublished.

8. TABLE 1: HOLDINGS (OUTSIDE MAINLAND CHINA)

		U.K.	PARIS	U.S.A.	JAPAN	OTHERS
1.	<u>Ch'ing-chen chiao-k'ao hsu</u>	FOUND IN NUMBER 37				
2.	<u>Ch'ün-shu hui-chi shih-i pa</u>	FOUND IN NUMBER 37				
3.	<u>T'ien-fang sheng-chiao hsu</u>	FOUND IN NUMBER 37 (and 54a)				
4.	<u>Cheng-chiao chen-ch'üan</u>	C, S, BM?	E, BN*	Cl, H, NY, Pl, Y	T <sup>3</sup> , To <sup>2</sup> , D, TB, O	AS
4a.	<u>Chen-ch'üan yao-lu</u>			Pl, NY?	T, To	
5.	<u>Ssu-p'ien yao-tao</u>		E	Pl, NY	T, To, O	
6.	<u>Hsi-chen cheng-ta</u>		E?	NY	T, To	
6a.	<u>Ch'eng-yü</u>	FOUND IN NUMBER 6				
7.	<u>Ch'ing-chen ta-hsüeh</u>	C, Ox	E <sup>2</sup>	Ch, Cl, H, Pl? NY <sup>2</sup>	T, To, D, TB, O	
7a.	<u>Ch'i-meng yao-lüeh</u>	(SEE NUMBER 7)				
8.	<u>Kuei-chen tsung-i</u>			H <sup>2</sup> , NY Pl	T, To, D, O	
9.	<u>Hui-ching tzu-hui</u>	NOT EXTANT?				
10.	<u>Jen-chi hsing-yü</u>			NY	T, To	
11.	<u>Hsing-shih ko-yen</u>			NY* Be*	To*	
12.	<u>Wei-chen yao-lüeh</u>	C	BN	Cl, NY	T, To	
13.	<u>Kuei-chen yao-tao</u>			Pl	T, To, O	
13a.	<u>Tui-yüan cheng-tao</u>		E*			

	UK	PARIS	U.S.A.	JAPAN	OTHERS
14. <u>Hsiu-chen meng-yin</u>		E <sup>2</sup>	H, Pi, NY	T, To, D, O	
14a. <u>Ch'ing-chen meng-yin</u>		(SEE NUMBER 14)			
15. <u>Chiao-k'uan chieh-yao</u>	S, BM <sup>2</sup>	E	Ch, Cl, NY P, Pi, Be <sup>2</sup>	T <sup>2</sup> , To, J, O	
16. <u>Hsing-mi lu</u>			NY		
16a. <u>Chio-shih shen-mi lu</u>				T?, To?	
17. <u>Yen-chen ching</u>		NOT EXTANT?			
17a. <u>Kuei-chen pi-yao</u>		NOT EXTANT?			
18. <u>Cheng-chiao chu-ni</u>		NOT EXTANT?			
19. <u>Ch'ing-chen chih-nan</u>	S, BM	E	Ch, Co, H, Pi, Y	T, To, TB, J, D?	
19a. <u>Chih-nan yao-yen</u>			Cl, Pi, NY	T, To	
19b. <u>Tso-tao t'ung-hsiao</u>		FOUND IN NUMBER 19			
20. <u>Hsien-yang wang fu-tien chi</u>			Pi, NY	T, To	
21. <u>Huan-yü shu-yao</u>		NOT EXTANT?			
22. <u>Chiao-k'uan wei-lun</u>		EXTANT IN CHINA?			
23. <u>Ch'ing-chen chiao-shuo</u>		FOUND IN NUMBER 37 (AND OTHER WORKS)			
24. <u>Chih-mi chi</u>		NOT EXTANT?			
25. <u>Hsing-shih lu</u>		NOT EXTANT?			
26. <u>Chen-ching chu</u>		NOT EXTANT			
27. <u>Chen-ching chao-wei</u>	C		Cl, NY, Pi	To, D?	
28. <u>Pei-yin ching</u>		NOT EXTANT			

	UK	PARIS	U.S.A.	JAPAN	OTHERS
29. <u>Ko-chih ch'üan-ching</u>		NOT EXTANT			
30. <u>Jen-ching ching</u>		NOT EXTANT			
31. <u>Li-fa cheng-tsung</u>		NOT EXTANT			
32. <u>Ch'ing-chen chiao-k'ao</u>	C	E	Cl, H, NY, Pi	T, To, D, O	As, A
32a. <u>Sheng-yü kuang-hsün</u>		FOUND WITH NUMBER 32 (AND OTHER WORKS)			
33. <u>T'ien-fang hsing-li</u>	C, BM <sup>2</sup>	E <sup>2</sup> , I	Ch, Cl, H <sup>2</sup> , P, Pi, Be, NY	T <sup>3</sup> , To <sup>3</sup> , D, TB, J	AS, A <sup>2</sup>
33a. <u>Hsing-li pen-ching chu-shih</u>	C	E*	Ch, Cl, NY, Pi	T, To	AS
34. <u>Tzu-mu chieh-i</u>		E	Be <sup>2</sup> , NY	T, To	
35. <u>Wu-kung shih-i</u>			Pi, NY	T, To <sup>2</sup> , D, O <sup>2</sup>	
36. <u>T'ien-fang tien-li</u>	C, S, BM <sup>2</sup>	E <sup>3</sup> , I	Ch <sup>2</sup> , Co, H <sup>2</sup> , NY, P <sup>2</sup> , Pi, B, Y	T <sup>5</sup> , To <sup>3</sup> , D, TB, J, O	AS, A <sup>2</sup>
37. <u>Chih-sheng shih-lu</u>	S, BM	E	Ch, H <sup>2</sup> , L, Pi, Be	T <sup>3</sup> , To, TB <sup>2</sup> , J	AS
37a. <u>Chih-sheng tsan</u>		FOUND IN NUMBER 37 (and elsewhere)			
37b. <u>Shih-lu pao-hsün</u>	C		NY	T, To	
38. <u>T'ien-fang san-tzu-ching</u>	BM	E?	Ch, Pi, B <sup>2</sup> , NY <sup>3</sup>	T, To, O	
39. <u>Chen-kung fa-wei</u>		E	Ch?, NY, Pi, H	T <sup>2</sup> , To, D, O	
40. <u>Hui-hui shuo</u>		FOUND IN NUMBER 37 (AND OTHER WORKS)			
41. <u>Erh-lei-pi ch'un-ch'iu</u>			NY	T, To	
42. <u>Wu-keng yüeh</u>		Ch	NY <sup>2</sup>	To?, D	
43. <u>Li-pai t'iao-li</u>			NY		

	UK	PARIS	U.S.A.	JAPAN	OTHERS
44. <u>Jen-li ch'ieh-yao</u>	NOT EXTANT?				
45. <u>San-i t'ung-chieh</u>	NOT EXTANT				
46. <u>Hsien-hsien yen-hsing lu</u>	NOT EXTANT?				
47. <u>T'ien-fang hsüeh-hui</u>	NOT EXTANT				
48. <u>Ch'ien-wen lu-chi</u>	NOT EXTANT				
49. <u>Wan-wu kuei-yüan</u>	NOT EXTANT				
50. <u>Cheng-yen ch'ien-shuo</u>	NOT EXTANT				
51. <u>T'ien-fang yüeh-shu</u>	NOT EXTANT				
52. <u>Ch'ing-chen fa-meng</u>	NOT EXTANT				
53. <u>Hui-hui yüan-lai</u>	Ox	E, BN	Ch, H, NY <sup>3</sup> , Pi, Be	T, To, O	A
54. <u>Ch'ing-chen shih-i</u>	C	E	Cl, Pi, Be, NY <sup>2</sup>	T, To, D?, O <sup>2</sup>	
54a. <u>Ch'ing-chen shih-i pu-chi</u>			Pi, NY	T <sup>2</sup> , To, D <sup>2</sup> , J?, o	A
55. <u>Hsing-mi chen-yüan</u>		E	NY		
56. <u>Untitled, Yuan Tsung-yü</u>	NOT EXTANT?				
57. <u>Chih-pen t'i-kang</u>	NOT EXTANT?				
58. <u>Ch'ing-chen chi-lu shan-i</u>	Ox				
59. <u>Ch'ing-chen cheng-chieh</u>		E			

# KEY TO TABLE OF HOLDINGS

The largest and most valuable holdings outside mainland China are in the Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, New York Public Library, Tenri, Ecole des Langues Orientales, Paris, and Pickens' private library. United States holdings, spread over many libraries, are quite large, but we should note that, apart from the New York collection (bought from Mason in 1927), European and Japanese collections are more likely to hold earlier and rarer editions. Further copies are surely to be found one day in China, and some in Russia (though only a few of those seen by Palladius were available to Adoratskii in 1887).

I have not included here holdings which no longer exist as independent collections. For example, the holdings in 1938 of the Dairen Library, listed in the Supplement to Shokō 118 (1938-9); Kuwabara Jitsuzō's private library, listed in his Collected Works, 1968, vol. 6., pp. 67-69; the Library of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Peking, which included perhaps 10 of the 30 works described by Palladius-Adoratskii.

Similarly, collections such as the Princeton Seminary Library (listed by Hayward in Moslem World 23, 1933), which are now lost or mislaid, are not included in the above list.

For such previous lists, see my separate table. I do not think I have overlooked many works outside mainland China. For China, I have listed the information available for the 1920's and 1930's in the Niu-chieh (Ox Street) Mosque catalogue (Peking), and works available to Chin Chi-t'ang, Fu T'ung-hsien and Pai Shou-i. I have not managed to obtain information about present holdings in Peking and elsewhere in mainland China.

I have labelled duplicates, e.g. T<sup>2</sup> means two copies in



Tenri; and incomplete copies, by \*. The sign ? means that I think a copy is held but may have made a mistake.

#### U.K.

BM British Museum, London  
C Cambridge University  
Ox Oxford  
S School of Oriental and African Studies, London

#### PARIS

BN Bibliothèque Nationale  
E Ecole des Langues Orientales  
I Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises

#### U.S.A.

Be Berkeley  
Ch Chicago  
Cl Cleveland Public Library  
Co Columbia University, N.Y.  
H Harvard, Cambridge  
L Library of Congress, Washington  
NY New York Public Library  
P Princeton  
Pi Rev. C. Pickens, private library, Annisquam  
Y Yale, New Haven

#### JAPAN

D Diet Library, Tokyo  
J Jimbun, Kyoto University

O Osaka Gaikokugo Daigaku  
T Tenri Library  
TB Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, Tokyo University  
TO Toyo Bunko, Tokyo

#### OTHERS

A Australian National University, Canberra  
AS Academia Sinica, Taipei

9. TABLE 2: ABSTRACTS AND COMMENTARIES: FORMER HOLDINGS

	D	M	B	P	Maj	V	C	F	Pai	H	K	T	*	Y	Ch	Jap	US
1. <u>Ch'ing-chen chiao-k'ao hsü</u>																	
2. <u>Ch'ün-shu hui-chi shih-i pa</u>																	
3. <u>T'ien-fang sheng-chiao hsü</u>																	
4. <u>Cheng-chiao chen-ch'üan</u>	X	10	147	5		1	X	X	X	841	X	X		1	O	D,K	
4a. <u>Chen-ch'üan yao-lu</u>	X	6	106												O		Pr
5. <u>Ssu-p'ien yao-tao</u>	X	244	137	6		15	X	X	X	641	X	X		13	O	D	
6. <u>Hsi-chen cheng-ta</u>	X	1364	12	X			X	X	X		X	X		3		D	
6a. <u>Ch'eng-yü</u>				9	X												
7. <u>Ch'ing-chen ta-hsüeh</u>	X	88	191	7	X	2	X	X	X	842	X	X	A,B	2	O	K	
7a. <u>Ch'i-meng yao-lüeh</u>																	
8. <u>Kuei-chen tsung-i</u>	X	196	37			14	X	X	X	640	X	X			O	D	Pr
9. <u>Hui-ching tzu-hui</u>							X	X									
10. <u>Jen-chi hsing-yü</u>	X	181 1827	283 2842			16	X	X			X	X			O		
11. <u>Hsing-shih ko-yen</u>	X	149	212														
12. <u>Wei-chen yao-lüeh</u>	X	288	273			12					X				O	K	
13. <u>Kuei-chen yao-tao</u>	X	197	38	19	X		X		X	847	X	X		297		D	Pr
13a. <u>Tui-yüan cheng-tao</u>				(19)													
14. <u>Hsiu-chen meng-yin</u>	X	151	130	14		3,4		X	X	846	X	X	C		O		
14a. <u>Ch'ing-chen meng-yin</u>														7			
15. <u>Chiao-k'uan chieh-yao</u>	X	21	86	16		11	X	X		782	X	X	D	5	O	D	Pr
16. <u>Hsing-mi lu</u>		96a					X	X							O		
16a. <u>Chio-shih shen-mi lu</u>																	
17. <u>Yen-chen ching</u>				(20)													
17a. <u>Kuei-chen pi-yao</u>				20	X									23			
18. <u>Cheng-ch'iao chu-ni</u>				11	X												
19. <u>Ch'ing-chen chih-nan</u>	X	62	165	4		5	X	X	X	757	X	X	E	4	O	D	

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	D	M	S	P	Maj	V	C	F	Pai	H	K	T	*	Y	Ch	Jap	US
19a. <u>Chih-nan yao-yen</u>	X	27	113												O	D,K	
19b. <u>Tao-tao t'ung-hsiao</u>																	
20. <u>Hsien-yang wang fu-tien chi</u>		142	26			35				734				F			
21. <u>Huan-yü shu-yao</u>										735							
22. <u>Chiao-k'uan wei-lun</u>								X	X	794							
23. <u>Ch'ing-chen chiao-shuo</u>		54	155						X	739				G			
24. <u>Chih-mi chi</u>					21 X (22) X												
25. <u>Hsing-shih lu</u>					22 X												
26. <u>Chen-ching chu</u>																	
27. <u>Chen-ching chao-wei</u>	X	5	105					X						20	O	K	
28. <u>Fei-yin ching</u>																	
29. <u>Ko-chih ch'üan-ching</u>																	
30. <u>Jen-ching ching</u>																	
31. <u>Li-fa cheng-tsung</u>														24			
32. <u>Ch'ing-chen chiao-k'ao</u>	X	52	153	24 25	X X	30				816	X	X		6	O	K	Pr
32a. <u>Sheng-yü kuang-hsün</u>				25	X											D	
33. <u>T'ien-fang hsing-li</u>	X	262	248	3		7	X	X	X	728	X	X		8	O	D,K	Pr
33a. <u>Hsing-li pen-ching chu-shih</u>	X	144 263	207 249			9		X		701				O?		D,K	Pr
34. <u>Tzu-mu chieh-i</u>	X	287	272			36	X		X	731	X		H	9	O	D	
35. <u>Wu-kung shih-i</u>	X	312	96	8		13	X	X	X	732	X	X		10	O	D	Pr
36. <u>T'ien-fang tien-li</u>	X	283 284	269 270	2		6	X	X	X	730	X	X	IJ K	14	O	D,K	
37. <u>Chih-sheng shih-lu</u>	X	260	246	1		31	X	X	X	727	X	X	LM NO	16	O	D,K	Pr
37a. <u>Chih-sheng taan</u>		33	119														
37b. <u>Shih-lu pao-hsün</u>	X	240	133												O		
38. <u>T'ien-fang san-tzu-ching</u>	X	274 277 278	260 263 264	10		20	X		X	729	X		P	12	O	D	

	D	M	S	P	Maj	V	C	F	Pai	H	K	T	*	Y	Ch	Jap	US
39. <u>Chen-kung fa-wei</u>	X		7	107	15					855				18	O	D,K	
			382														
			291?														
40. <u>Hui-hui shuo</u>	X		162	53						726			Q				
41. <u>Erh-lei-pi ch'un-ch'iu</u>	X		115	200						725							
42. <u>Wu-kang yüeh</u>	X		310	94												D	
43. <u>Li-pai t'iao-li</u>			210	175												D	
			72														
44. <u>Jen-li ch'ieh-yao</u>	X?		184?	286?										15			
			186?	288?													
45. <u>San-i t'ung-chieh</u>														17			
46. <u>Hsien-hsien yen-hsing lu</u>														19			
47. <u>T'ien-fang hsüeh-hui</u>														21			
48. <u>Ch'ien-wen lu-chi</u>														22			
49. <u>Wan-wu kuei-yüan</u>														25			
50. <u>Cheng-yen ch'ien-shuo</u>														26			
51. <u>T'ien-fang yüeh-shu</u>														27			
52. <u>Ch'ing-chen fa-meng</u>														28			
53. <u>Hui-hui yüan-lai</u>	X		165	56	23					740	X		RS		0	D	
													T				
54. <u>Ch'ing-chen shih-i</u>	X		86	189	13	X					X	X		11	0	D,K	Pr?
54a. <u>Ch'ing-chen shih-i pu-chi</u>	X		87	190						672	X	X	U		0	D,K	Pr?
55. <u>Hsing-mi chen-yüan</u>	X		235	215	29	X										D	
56. <u>Untitled, yüan tsung-yü</u>					17	X											
57. <u>Chih-pen t'i-kang</u>					18	X											
58. <u>Ch'ing-chen chi-lu shan-i</u>					96												
59. <u>Ch'ing-chen cheng-chieh</u>																	

## KEY TO TABLE 2

For details of these works, see my "Bibliographies and Catalogues" below.

D. Dairen Library, Supplement to Shokō 118 (1938-9).

M. I. Mason, JNCBRAS 56 (1925).

My & means there is a description in his "Supplementary Notes", FOM 11, 1 (Jan. 1937).

S. Sakuma Teijirō, 1933 (translation of Mason).

P. Palladius, 1887.

Maj. Translation of part of above by R. Majercsak, RMM 28 (Sept. 1914).

V. A. Vissière, RMM 13 (Jan. 1911) (and in D'Ollone).

C. Chin Chi-t'ang, 1935.

F. Fu T'ung-hsien, 1940.

Pai. Pai Shou-i, 1944 (better than 1946).

H. Hajji Yussuf Chang (Chang Chao-li), 1960.

K. Kuwata Rokurō, 1925.

T. Tazaka Kōdō, 1964.

I have left out the near-obsolete list of Ogilvie, 1917, translated by Ishida, 1918.

The sign \* refers to individual articles or books describing one particular item:

- A. Kadono Tatsudō 角野達堂, "Seishin daigaku kō" 清真大學考, Kaikyōken 回教圈 5 (1941), pp. 329-341, 414-426.
- B. Anon., "O Daiyu (Wang Tai-yü) cho seishin daigaku" 王岱輿著「清真大學」, Kaikyō jijō 回教事情 2 (1939), pp. 67-8.
- C. C.F. Hogg, "Mahommedanism", Ch. Rec. 22 (1891), pp. 354-8, 401-5.
- D. K.L. Reichelt and F.J.M. Cotter, "Important Articles of the Moslem Doctrine", Ch. Rec. 51 (1920), pp. 107-118.
- E. M. Hartmann, "Vom Chinesischen Islam", Welt des Islams 1 (1913), pp. 178-210.
- F. Lepage, "Biographie du Seyyid Edjell Chams Ed-Din Omar", in d'Ollone, 1911, pp. 50-81 (revised from RMM 11, May 1910).
- G. F. Madeley, in Broomhall, 1910, pp. 303-6.
- H. A. Forke, "Das Arabische Alphabet nach dem T'ien-fang tse-mu chieh-yi", TP 8 (1907), pp. 693-703.
- I. Kadono Tatsudō, "Kaiju Ryu Chi no Tempō tenrei yaku yōkai" 回儒劉智の「天方典禮擇要解」, Shina Bukkyō Shigaku 4, 1 (1940), pp. 69-81.
- J. Nohara Shirō 野原四郎, "Tempō tenrei yaku yōkai no hōyaku ni sai shite" 「天方典禮擇要解」の邦譯に際して, Kaikyōken 4 (1940), pp. 80-100.
- K. C.F. Hogg, "Mahommedanism : Laws and Ceremonies", Ch. Rec. 22 (1891), pp. 545-553.

- L. Tanaka Ippei 田中逸平, Tempō shisei jitsuroku 天方至聖實錄, 1930.
- M. Isaac Mason, The Arabian Prophet, 1921.
- N. Palladius (P.I. Kafarov), "Kitaiskaia literatura magometan", Trudy Vostochnago otd. Russkago arkheologicheskago obshchestva 17 (1877), pp. 149-188 (published by V.V. Grigor'ev, slightly different from the 1887 version edited by Adoratskii).
- O. P. Pelliot, REVIEW of I. Mason (above), TP 21 (1922), pp. 413-425.
- P. F.J.M. Cotter and L. Reichelt, "The Three Character Classic for Moslems", Ch. Rec. 48 (1917), pp. 645-652 (also in MW 8, 1918, pp. 10-15).
- Q. H. D'Ollone, "De l'origine du nom de Houei-Houei", pp. 420-6 of 1911 book.
- R. G. Devéria, "Origine de l'Islamisme en Chine", Centenaire de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales, 1895, pp. 312-6.
- S. M. Broomhall, "Some Chinese Mohammedan Traditions", pp. 61-80 in his 1910 book.
- T. Anon., "Kaikai genrai" 回回原來, Kaikyō jijō 2 (1939), pp. 70-72.
- U. Anon., "Kin Tenchū cho Seishin shakugi hoshū" 金天柱著「清真釋疑補輯」, Kaikyō jijō 2 (1939), pp. 59-66.
- In my Introduction, I have given an account of the earliest references to the Muslim books, in particular by Liu Chih, Hei Ming-feng, Yüan Kuō-tsu, Ma Ta-en and A Jih-fu. In the above table, besides references to abstracts and commentaries, I have added some key lists of former holdings:

Y. Yüan Kuo-tsu's list of 29 works, printed and manuscript, found in Liu Chih's Prophet", c. 1780 (see my Introduction for details).

For China, Japan and the U.S.A., 20th Century listings include:

O. Niu-chieh ("Ox Street") "Mosque catalogue", c. 1925, perhaps the most extensive of all such catalogues and booklists.

D. Dairen holdings, 1938.

K. Kuwabara Jitsuzō's private library.

Pr. Princeton Seminary Library holdings, as listed by Hayward in 1933.

These collections can no longer be looked on as extant, though many of the works have been incorporated in other collections.

#### 10. Bibliographies and Catalogues

1. Isaac Mason, "Notes on Chinese Mohammedan Literature", JNCBRAS 56 (1925), pp. 172-215 (318 items, alphabetically by title, short descriptions). Reprinted in Peking, 1938.

1a. Shina Kaikyō Bunken no Kaisetsu 支那回教文献の解説 (Tō-A Kenkyū Kōsa 東亞研究講座 49), Tokyo, 1933, 63 pages, translated by Sakuma Teijirō 佐久間貞次郎 (327 items, arranged by Gojūon; gives Chinese and western dates, but adds nothing else).

1b. "Supplementary Notes on Chinese Mohammedan Literature", Friends of Moslems 11 (Jan. 1937), pp. 14-26 (66 further items, mostly 20th Century).

Mason himself held approximately 240 items in 1927 when he sold 200 (126 books + 74 tracts, etc.) to the New York Public Library for \$100.

2. Islam Kankei Shiryō Sōgō Mokuroku イスラム関係資料総合目録 (Union List of Materials on Islamic Studies), Tokyo, 1961, ed. by Ajia Keizai Kenkyūjo, ix + 275 pages. Pp. 254-275 "Chinese" includes over 400 entries, arranged by author, covering 12 Japanese libraries, notably Toyo Bunko (Tokyo) (over 150), Tenri (over 100), Diet Library (Tokyo), Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo (Tokyo University), Osaka Gaikokugo.

3. Tenri Catalogue: Vol. 2, religious works イスラム教, pp. 228-235. Lists over 200 items, many in Chinese.

4. A. Vissière, "Ouvrages chinois mahométans", RMM 13 (Jan. 1911), pp. 30-63 (reprinted in A. Vissière, Etudes Sino-Mahométanes, Première Série, Paris, 1911, pp. 102-135; and in

H.M.G. d'Ollone, (Mission d'Ollone 1906-1909): Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois, Paris, 1911, xii + 470 pages, see pp. 389-419). Gives 36 items, with accurate descriptions, and summary of contents, including some editions and prefaces. Most but not all of the d'Ollone holdings described by Vissière are now in the Ecole des langues orientales, Paris.

4a. "Les Musulmans chinois et la republique: littérature islamique chinoise"; REI 1 (1927), pp. 309-319. Gives a few later works.

5. Palladius (P.I. Kafarov), "Kitaiskaia literatura magometan", Trudy imperiatorstugo Russkago arkheologicheskago obshchestva 18 (1887), 334 pages (reprint 1909, pp. 163-496, bound with P.I. Lerkh), posthumously ed. by Nikolai Adoratskii.

Palladius wrote his manuscript between 1849 and 1858. Some of the errors in the published version are due to Adoratskii. Palladius' 1877 article with the same title, in Trudy Vostochnago otd. Russkago arkheologicheskago obshchestva 17 (1877), pp. 149-188, which deals solely with Liu Chih's Chih-sheng shih-lu, is incorporated in the 1887 work, with minor differences, as a single item, out of 36 items summarised at length, 25 by Palladius, a few others by Osii for Adoratskii.

5a. R. Majerczak, "Littérature Sino-musulmane : Analyse d'un recueil composé par l'archimandrite Palladius", RMM 28 (Sept. 1914), pp. 108-164. Translates about 20 of Palladius-Adoratskii summaries, leaving out those (the most important) dealt with by Vissière in his short summaries.

5b. L. Panskaya, with D.D. Leslie, Introduction to Palladii's Chinese Literature of the Muslims, Canberra, 1977, v + 106 pages. Gives a full translation and analysis of the Preface

and Introduction by Adoratskii to Palladius's 1887 work.

We hope to complete our analysis of this long 1887 work in the near future.

6. Shina Kaikyō Bunken Mokuroku 支那回教文献目錄, Dairen, 1939, 16 pages. This is a supplement to "Shina Kaikyō", Shokō 118 (1939), pp. 1223-1230. Lists several hundred works many of which were held in Dairen Library in Nov. 1939, with short but accurate descriptions. Over 250 items were primary Muslim books or pamphlets in Chinese. However, in several cases, where a catalogue number is not given, the description has been taken from Mason or elsewhere, proving nothing about holdings.

7. Ch'ing-chen shu-pao-she t'u-shu mu-lu 清真書報社圖書目錄, Niu-chieh (Ox Street) mosque, Peking, no date (c. 1925), 22 pages (held in Tenri). I have seen several other lists on the covers of books published by this and other mosques, but this "Mosque catalogue" is probably the largest.<sup>17</sup> It lists 149 books in Chinese, with authors, occasionally with Persian or Arabic title; and 61 items in Arabic script, by title only.

17. Reprinting also was undertaken in other cities. I have a list of Tientsin publications. I have not seen the Ai-po shu-kuan t'u-shu mu-lu 愛伯書館圖書目錄, Ch'eng-tu, 1911, 6 pages, mentioned in the Dairen catalogue.

I have also, of course, made extensive use of the biographical collections by Li Huan-i and Lan Tzu-hsi in the 19th Century (see my p. 66).

8. Claude L. Pickens, Jr., Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Islam in China, Hankow, 1950, iii + 72 pages (also in Friends of Moslems 22, 1948, ff). Includes many primary Chinese works, but incomplete.
9. Hajji Yussuf Chang (Chang Chao-li), "A Bibliographical Study of the History of Islam in China", 1960, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, Montreal, x + 208 pages. Based on Pickens, but with a few extra items. Arranged alphabetically by author. One would like to know where he got his information about the Muslim books in Chinese, for he occasionally adds something new.
10. Charles L. Ogilvie (part of joint article with S.M. Zwemer), "A Classified Bibliography of Books on Islam in Chinese and Chinese Arabic", Chi. Rec. 48 (1917), pp. 652-659 + 659-662). Gives 95 items, adding to Vissière, but with mistakes. Largely incorporated in Mason.
- 10a. Translation by Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助 in Tōyō gakuho 8 (1918), pp. 308-314.  
Kuwata (pp. 385-6) has corrected several mistakes in this near-obsolete list.<sup>18</sup>

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18. Even more filled with mistakes are M. Broomhall's list in Islam in China, 1910, pp. 301-2, and Dabry de Thiersant's chapter, "Littérature" in vol. 2, pp. 358-373 of Le mahométisme en Chine et dans le Turkestan orientale, 1878.

I have not seen the unpublished list by P. Pelliot, (discussing about 70 items), of 1905, mentioned by Cordier, "L'Islam en Chine", Journal des Sçavants, 1913, p. 60 (and in Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg, 1909, p. 441); (and by Pelliot himself, TP 21 (1922), p. 414).

To these must be added the basic analyses by Kuwata, Tazaka, Chin Chi-t'ang, Pai Shou-i, Fu T'ung-hsien; and essays by Pelliot, Saguchi, Hayward, Ford.

11. Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎, "Minmatsu shinso no kaiju 明末清初の回儒", in Shiratori 白鳥 Festschrift, 1925, pp. 377-386. The first to sort out the works and authors properly. Gives short biographies for 10 key authors.
12. Tazaka Kōdō 田坂興道, Chūgoku ni okeru Kaikyō no denri to sono gutsū 中國における回教の傳來とその弘通, Tokyo, 2 vols., 1964. See pp. 1353-1432 (and also pp. 1697-1709). He has followed Kuwata, but with several corrections and additions, especially for Wang Tai-yü.
13. Chin Chi-t'ang 金吉堂, Chung-kuo hui-chiao shih yen-chiu 中國回教史研究, 1935, Peking. See pp. 199-210. The first modern Chinese scholar to do a proper analysis.
14. Fu T'ung-hsien, Chung-kuo hui-chiao shih, 1940 (1970 reprint). See pp. 104-8, 155-165. He follows Chin, but occasionally adds something of his own, with more biographical information.
15. Pai Shou-i, Chung-kuo hui-chiao hsiao-shih 小史, 1944 (his earlier, but more original version), pp. 36-41.
- 15a. Pai Shou-i, Chung-kuo I-ssu-lan shih kang-yao 中國伊斯蘭史綱要, 1946, passim, esp. section 14, pp. 46-48. Follows Chin Chi-t'ang, thus introducing errors not in his previous work. Translation (abbreviated) in Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore 1947, pp. 392-417, by Chou Mai, esp. p. 409.

- 15b. Pai Shou-i, Chung-kuo I-ssu-lan shih kang-yao tz'u-liao 資料, 1948, esp. chap. 11, pp. 296-307, on literary figures (and also chaps. 12, 13). His major work.
16. Paul Pelliot, REVIEW of I. Mason, Liu Chai-lien : The Arabian Prophet..., T'oung Pao 21 (1922), pp. 413-425.
17. Saguchi Tōru 佐中透 "Chūgoku Isuramu no keiten" 中國イスラムの経典, Tōyō gakuho 32 (1950), pp. 480-508.
18. H.D. Hayward, "Chinese-Moslem Literature : A Study in Mohammedan Education", MW 23 (1933), pp. 356-377.
19. Joseph F. Ford, "Some Chinese Muslims of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", Asian Affairs 1974, pp. 144-156.<sup>19</sup>

We should add, though of less significance for this article, bibliographies of Arabic works seen in China:

20. San-li ho mosque (near Peking)
- (a) L. Bouvat ("Une bibliothèque de mosquée chinoise", RMM 4 (March 1908), pp. 516-521 (and cf. RMM 6, Dec. 1908, pp. 697-8).
- (b) M. Hartmann, "Littérature des Musulmans chinois", RMM 5 (June 1908), pp. 275-288 (and cf. L.B. in RMM 9, Dec. 1910, pp. 537-8).
21. Chiao-tzu lu-tung (hu-tung?) mosque, Peking
- (a) (A. Vissière and) L. Bouvat, "Quelques papiers de la mission d'Ollone en Chine) : Catalogue d'une bibliothèque de A-hong", in d'Ollone, 1911, pp. 375-8 (from RMM 6, Dec. 1908, pp. 703-7).

19. Though limited to one library only, Hartmut Walravens, "Chinesische islamische Bücher in der Cleveland Public Library", Oriens Extremus 23 (1977), pp. 245-260, is useful for its detailed bibliographical notes.

22. Henry Blodget, "Arabs in Peking", JAOS 8 (1966), pp. xxi-xxii.
23. Kansu manuscripts
- (a) L. Bouvat "Mission d'Ollone, Recherches sur les Musulmans chinois) : Manuscrits persans", RMM 8 (June 1909), pp. 219-222.
- (b) E. Blochet, "Notice sur onze manuscrits persans rapportés du Kan-sou", in d'Ollone, pp. 284-293 (from RMM 9, Dec. 1909, pp. 583-9); and translated by M. Hartmann, "Persische Manuskripte", pp. 35-9 in his Zur Geschichte des Islam in China, 1921.

These are helpful for comparison with the Peking Mosque catalogue, and with Liu Chih's lists of Arabic and Persian sources in his tien-li and hsing-li. This has been analysed in

24. Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎, "Ryu Chi no saikyō shomoku ni tsuite" 劉智の探經書目に就いて, pp. 335-353 in Ichimura 市村 Festschrift, 1933.
- and
- 24a. D. Leslie and M. Wassel, "Arabic and Persian sources used by Liu Chih", in Central Asiatic Journal, 1982?

In addition to the above, mainly bibliographical works, several key works devoted to individual Muslim books will be found in my section 9 (key to Table 2, pp. 151-4). Other essential books referred to are:



25. H.M.G. d'Ollone (with A. Vissière, etc.), (Mission d'Ollone 1906-1909): Recherches sur les Musulmans chinois, 1911, Paris, xii + 470 pages.
26. A. Vissière, etc., Etudes Sino-Mahométanes, 1911-13, Deuxième Série, 1913, Paris, 160 pages (reprinted from Revue du Monde Musulman 1911-1913).
27. Marshall Broomhall, Islam in China. A Neglected Problem, 1910, London (1966 reprint, N.Y.), xx + 332 pages.
28. C.P. Dabry de Thiersant, Le Mahométanisme en Chine et dans le Turkestan orientale, 1878, 2 vols., Paris, vii + 334 + 514 pages.
29. Isaac Mason, The Arabian Prophet : (A Life of Mohammed from Chinese and Arabic Sources) : (A Chinese-Moslem Work by Liu Chai-lien), 1921, Shanghai, xvi + 313 pages.
30. J.V.G. Mills, Ma Huan, Ying-yai sheng-lan : 'The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores' (1433), 1970, xix + 393 pages.
31. Iwamura Shinobu 岩村忍, Chūgoku Kaikyō shakai no kōzō 中國回教社會の構造, 1949, 1950, 2 vols., 134 + 90 pages.
32. Tanaka Ippei 田中逸平, Tempō Shisei jitsuroku 天方至聖實錄, 1930, Tokyo, 427 pages.
33. Nakada Yoshinobu 中田吉信, Kaikai minzoku no sho mondai 回回民族の諸問題, 1971, Tokyo, 5 + 194 pages.
34. Ma I-yü 馬以愚, Chung-kuo hui-chiao shih-chien 中國回教史鑑, 1940, 13 + 121 + 30 pages.
35. Wu Wen-liang 吳文良, Ch'üan-chou tsung-chiao shih-k'o 泉州宗教石刻, 1957, Peking, 2 + 66 + 94 pages.

36. Pai Shou-i, Chin Chi-t'ang, etc., Hui-tsu hui-chiao hui-min lun-chi 回族回教回民論集, 1974, Kowloon, 2 + 2 + 212 pages. This includes most of the articles (e.g. by P'ang Shih-ch'ien) in the symposiums of Yü-kung 5, 11 (August 1936) and 7, 4 (April 1937), also reprinted in
- 36a. Yü-kung : Hui-chiao chuan-hao 禹貢: 回教專號, 1974, Taipei, 103 + 193 pages.  
Among the most important articles are :
37. G. Deveria, "Origine de l'Islamisme en Chine", Centenaire de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales, 1895, pp. 305-355.
38. Paul Pelliot, "Les plus anciens monuments de l'écriture arabe en Chine", Journal Asiatique 1913, pp. 177-191.
39. Isaac Mason, "The Mohammedans of China, when and how they first came", JNCBRAS 60 (1929), pp. 42-77 (of several versions).
40. P. Pelliot, "Le Hōjā et le Sayyid Husain de l'histoire des Ming", T'oung Pao 38 (1948), pp. 81-292.
41. Kuwabara Jitsuzō 桑原隲藏, "Soken seishinji hi" 創建清真寺碑, Geibun 藝文 3, 7 (1912), pp. 40-55.
42. Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎, "Reihaiji meguri" 禮拜寺巡行, Tōyō gakuho 東洋學報 16 (1926), pp. 110-136.
43. Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, "Hui-hui chiao ju Chung-kuo shih-lüeh" 回回教入中國史略, Tung-fang tsa-chih 東方雜誌 25, 1 (1928), pp. 115-124 (also in Pai Shou-i, 1948).

44. Ma I-yü 馬以愚 , "Chung-kuo hui-chiao ming li-pai-ssu chi" 中國回教名禮拜寺記 , Tung-fang tsa-chih 42, 3 (1946), pp. 43-49 (124481-7).

For a full analysis, see my article "Islam in China to 1800 : A Bibliographical Guide" Abr-Nahrain 16 (1976), pp. 16-48. Basic also are bibliographies for Arabic and Persian sources, by Brockelmann, Storey and Blochet, in particular:

45. C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, 2 vols. + 3 Supplements, 3rd Suppl. dated 1942.

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<u>Cheng-chiao chu-i</u>	SEE <u>Cheng-ch'iao chu-ni</u>	<u>Ch'ing-chen shih-i</u> (54)	56, 11, 13, 31, 57, 63, 98, 101, 102, 107, 144, 150
<u>Cheng-chiao hsiu-chen meng-yin</u>	SEE <u>Hsiu-chen meng-yin</u>	<u>Ch'ing-chen shih-i pu-chi</u> (54a)	56, 21, 38, 39, 46, 49, 66, 72, 83, 101, 134, 135, 136, 138, 141, 144, 150
<u>Cheng-ch'iao chu-ni</u> (18)	35, 142, 148	<u>Ch'ing-chen shih-i shuo</u>	38
<u>Cheng-yen ch'ien-shuo</u> (50)	54, 144, 150	<u>Ch'ing-chen ta-hsüeh</u> (7)	24, 4, 11, 12, 48, 72, 97, 141, 148
<u>Ch'eng-yü</u> (6a)	24, 73, 141, 148	<u>Ch'ing-chen yüan-shih shan-i</u>	56
<u>Ch'i-meng yao-lüeh</u> (7a)	24, 48, 141, 148	<u>Chio-shih hsing-mi lu</u>	33
<u>Chiao-k'uan chieh-yao</u> (15)	31, 13, 16, 38, 80, 81, 85, 138, 142, 148	<u>Chio-shih pao-chen</u>	33
<u>Chiao-k'uan wei-lun</u> (22)	38, 81, 142, 149	<u>Chio-shih shen-mi lu</u> (16a)	33, 16, 142, 148
<u>Ch'ien-wen lu-chi</u> (48)	54, 13, 144, 150	<u>Chu-t'ien ta-tsan chen-ching</u>	51, 53
<u>Chih-mi chi</u> (24)	39, 16, 33, 142, 149	<u>Chu-t'ien ta-tsan chi-chieh</u>	12
<u>Chih-nan yao-yen</u> (19a)	36, 14, 142, 148	<u>Chung Han wen mieh-t'ieh</u>	52
<u>Chih-pen ti-an</u>	SEE <u>Chih-pen t'i-kang</u>	<u>Ch'ün-shu (hui-chi) shih-i pa</u> (2)	21, 70, 137, 141, 148
<u>Chih-pen t'i-kang</u> (57)	58, 102, 144, 150	<u>E-shen-erh-ting</u> (28a)	43, 88
<u>Chih-sheng shih-lu</u> (37)	49, 92, 108, 119, 127, 138, 141, 143, 149, passim; SEE Topics "Prophet"	<u>Erh-lei-pi ch'un-ch'iu</u> (41)	53, 92, 143, 149
<u>Chih-sheng tsan</u> (37a)	51, 143, 149	<u>Erh-shih</u>	42
<u>Chih-shih shu</u>	39	<u>Fei-yin ching</u> (28)	42, 10, 16, 34, 142, 149
<u>Ch'ing-chen cheng-chieh</u> (59)	59, 144, 150	<u>Ho-shang tsai hui-hui wen-chiao shuo-fa</u>	55
<u>Ch'ing-chen chi-lu shan-i</u> (58)	58, 127, 138, 144, 150		
<u>Ch'ing-chen chiao-k'ao</u> (32)	45, 2, 21, 31, 97, 98, 127, 134, 135, 136, 138, 143, 149		
<u>Ch'ing-chen chiao-k'ao hsiu</u> (1)	21, 3, 45, 71, 74, 137, 141, 148		
<u>Ch'ing-chen chiao-shuo</u> (23)	38, 47, 59, 88, 137, 142, 149		
<u>Ch'ing-chen chih-nan</u> (19)	35, 84, 142, 148, passim; SEE also Topics "Compass".		

<u>Hsi-chen cheng-ta</u> (6)	23, 4, 11, 72, 78, 79, 141, 148	<u>Ko-chih ch'üan-ching</u> (29)	43, 10, 16, 143, 149
<u>Hsi-lai ts'ung-p'u</u>	55	<u>Kuei-chen pi-yao</u> (17a)	34, 16, 43, 88, 142, 148
<u>Hsien-hsien yen-hsing lu</u> (46)	54, 144, 150	<u>Kuei-chen tsung-i</u> (8)	25, 16, 71, 73, 75, 76, 141, 148
<u>Hsien-yang wang fu-tien</u> (kung-) chi (20)	36, 88, 142, 149	<u>Kuei-chen yao-tao</u> (13)	27, 16, 29, 30, 76, 79, 80, 85, 89, 141, 148
<u>Hsing-li</u>	SEE <u>T'ien-fang</u> <u>hsing-li</u>	<u>Li-fa cheng-tsung</u> (31)	44, 16, 143, 149
<u>Hsing-li pen-ching</u> <u>chu-shih</u> (33a)	47, 10, 93, 119, 143, 149	<u>Li-pai t'iao-li</u> (43)	53, 92, 143, 150
<u>Hsing-mi chen-yüan</u> (55)	57, 144, 150	<u>Li-shu wu-kung i</u>	48
<u>Hsing-mi lu</u> (16)	32, 16, 33, 39, 40, 82, 142, 148	<u>P'i-ling sha-shih</u> <u>tsung-p'u</u>	64
<u>Hsing-mi yao-lu</u>	32	<u>San-i t'ung-chieh</u> (45)	54, 13, 144, 150
<u>Hsing-shih chen-yen</u>	33	<u>Sheng-yü kuang-hsün</u> (32a)	45, 138, 143, 149
<u>Hsing-shih ko-yen</u> (11)	26, 51, 77, 141, 148	<u>Shih-lu pao-hsün</u> (37b)	51, 143, 149
<u>Hsing-shih lu</u> (25)	40, 16, 33, 83, 91, 142, 149	<u>Ssu-p'ien yao-tao</u> (5)	23, 2, 16, 29, 51, 73, 75, 76, 77, 141, 148
<u>Hsing-shih shu</u>	39, 40	<u>Tai-yü Wang-kung</u> <u>t'an-tao</u>	55
<u>Hsiu-chen meng-yin</u> (14)	30, 31, 70, 74, 75, 76, 79, 98, 102, 107, 108, 142, 148	<u>Tao-hsing tui-yüan ching</u>	10, 29
<u>Hsü T'ien-fang san-tzu-</u> <u>ching</u>	26	<u>Tien-kung fa-wei</u>	52
<u>Huan-yü shu</u>	37	<u>Tien-li</u>	SEE <u>T'ien-fang</u> <u>tien-li</u>
<u>Huan-yü shu-chieh</u>	37	<u>Tien-li pen-ching</u>	48
<u>Huan-yü shu-yao</u> (21)	37, 88, 142, 149	<u>T'ien-ching ch'ing-hsing</u>	10
<u>Hui-ching tzu-hui</u> (9)	25, 16, 77, 141, 148	<u>T'ien-fang cheng-hsüeh</u>	SEE Secondary Authors, Lan Tzu-hsi
<u>Hui-hui shih-ju</u> <u>Chung-kuo hsü</u>	55	<u>T'ien-fang chih-sheng</u> <u>shih-lu</u>	SEE <u>Chih-sheng</u> <u>shih-lu</u>
<u>Hui-hui shuo</u> (40)	53, 92, 137, 143, 149	<u>T'ien-fang hsing-li</u> (33)	46, 143, 149; passim; SEE also Topics <u>hsing-li</u>
<u>Hui-hui yüan-lai</u> (53)	55, 4, 13, 82, 83, 88, 98, 144, 150	<u>T'ien-fang hsing-li</u> <u>pen-ching chu-shih</u>	SEE <u>Hsing-li pen-</u> <u>ching chu-shih</u>
<u>Hui-hui yüan-liu</u>	56	<u>T'ien-fang hsüeh-hui</u> (47)	54, 13, 144, 150
<u>Hui-hui yao-fang san-shih-</u> <u>liu chuan</u>	1	<u>T'ien-fang hui-hui yüan-</u> <u>lai</u>	SEE <u>Hui-hui yüan-</u> <u>lai</u>
<u>Hui-wen sheng-yü kuang-</u> <u>hsün</u>	SEE <u>Sheng-yü</u> <u>kuang-hsün</u>	<u>T'ien-fang jen-chi</u> <u>hsing-yü</u>	SEE <u>Jen-chi hsing-yü</u>
<u>Jen-chi hsing-yü</u> (10)	26, 74, 76, 77, 78, 101, 141, 148	<u>T'ien-fang li-ching</u>	48
<u>Jen-ching</u>	44	<u>T'ien-fang li-yao chieh</u>	52
<u>Jen-ching ching</u> (30)	44, 16, 43, 143, 149	<u>T'ien-fang san-tzu-ching</u> (chu-chieh) (38)	51, 11, 12, 13, 23, 26, 92, 107, 143, 149
<u>Jen-li ch'ieh-yao</u> (44)	53, 144, 150	<u>T'ien-fang sheng-chiao</u> <u>hsü</u> (3)	21, 81, 137, 141, 148
<u>Ko-chih ching-chieh</u>	43	<u>T'ien-fang ssu-tzu-ching</u>	52

<u>T'ien-fang tien-li</u> (tse yao- chieh) (36)	48, 119, 134, 143, 149; passim; SEE also Topics <u>tien-li</u>
<u>T'ien-fang tzu-mu chieh-i</u>	SEE <u>Tzu-mu chieh-i</u>
<u>T'ien-fang wei-chen yao-</u> <u>lueh</u>	SEE <u>Wei-chen yao-</u> <u>lueh</u>
<u>T'ien-fang yüeh-shu</u> (51)	54, 144, 150
<u>T'ien-fang yu-li san-</u> <u>tzu-ching</u>	SEE <u>T'ien-fang san-</u> <u>tzu-ching</u>
<u>Tso-tao t'ung-hsiao</u> (19b)	36, 142, 148
<u>Tui-yüan cheng-k'uei</u>	29
<u>Tui-yüan cheng-te</u>	29
<u>Tui-yüan cheng-tao</u> (13a)	29, 16, 141, 148
<u>Tzu-mu chieh-i</u> (34)	47, 11, 12, 13, 59, 88, 92, 103, 143, 149
<u>Wan-wu kuei-yüan</u> (49)	54, 144, 150
<u>Wei-chen yao-lueh</u> (12)	27, 12, 75, 78, 79, 141, 148
<u>Wu-keng yüeh</u> (42)	53, 92, 143, 149
<u>Wu-kung shih-i</u> (35)	48, 11, 12, 13, 24, 92, 94, 97, 103, 143, 149
<u>Yen-chen ching</u> (17)	33, 10, 16, 32, 34, 82, 142, 148
<u>Yen-chen ts'ui-yu</u>	33
<u>Yü-lan T'ien-fang chih-</u> <u>sheng shih-lu</u>	SEE <u>Chih-sheng shih-</u> <u>lu</u>

17. NON-MUSLIM CHINESE SOURCES

This list includes a few works by Muslims not about Islam. In my text, I write

"Provincial Gazetteer" for the t'ung-chih.

<u>An-hui t'ung-chih</u>	110, 119	<u>Liu-shih hung-shu</u>	129
<u>Che-chiang t'ung-chih</u>	82, 119	<u>Ma Hui-chai hsien-sheng</u> <u>i-chi</u>	92
<u>Ch'eng-tu hsien-chih</u>	111	<u>Ming-ch'ao hui-tien</u>	129
<u>Chi-fu t'ung-chih</u>	82, 90, 99, 100, 104, 119	<u>Ming-ch'ao shih-fa lu</u>	129
<u>Chi-lu hui-pien</u>	128	<u>Ming-ch'ao tien-ku</u>	129
<u>Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao</u>	129	<u>Ming pai-kuan k'ao</u>	129
<u>Chia-hsing fu-chih</u>	70	<u>Ning-kuo fu-chih</u>	70
<u>Ch'ien-ch'üeh lei-shu</u>	128	<u>Pa-hsien i-shih</u>	128
<u>Chih-fang wai-chi</u>	129	<u>P'iao-yang hsien-chih</u>	83
<u>Chin-ling ts'ung-shu</u>	49	<u>Shan-tung t'ung-chih</u>	93, 99, 100
<u>Ch'ing-shih kao</u>	99, 100	<u>Shao-t'ung hsien-chih kao</u>	100
<u>Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan</u>	71, 74, 75, 82, 83, 99, 100, 104, 105, 109, 114	<u>Sheng-wu-chi</u>	5, 140
<u>Chu-fan-chih</u>	127	<u>Shih-p'ing chou-chih</u>	88, 92, 106
<u>Chung-kuo jen-ming</u> <u>ta-tz'u-tien</u>	68, 71, 74, 75, 82, 83, 89, 100, 105, 109, 111, 113, 114	<u>Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu</u> <u>ts'ung-mu t'i-yao</u>	49
<u>Ch'ung-yang hsien-chih</u>	90	<u>Ta-Ming i-t'ung-chih</u>	129
<u>Feng-chou hui-yüan</u>	129	<u>Teng-chou fu-chih</u>	99
<u>Hang-chou fu-chih</u>	82	<u>T'ien-ho hsien-chih</u>	72
<u>Ho-chien hsien-chih</u>	100	<u>Wen-teng hsien-chih</u>	99
<u>Ho-nan t'ung-chih</u>	83	<u>Wen-yüan hsiao-hsiang</u>	129
<u>Hsi-ning fu hsin-chih</u>	128	<u>Wu-hsüeh pien</u>	128
<u>Hsi-yang fan-kuo-chih</u>	128	<u>Yeh hsien-chih</u>	71, 74
<u>Hsin-tu hsien-chih</u>	111	<u>Ying-yai sheng-lan</u>	1, 127, 129
<u>Hsing-ch'a sheng-lan</u>	129	<u>Yüan-chiang chih-k'ao</u>	72, 92
<u>Hu-nan t'ung-chih</u>	85, 90, 104	<u>Yüan-shih</u>	135
<u>Hu-pei t'ung-chih</u>	104	<u>Yün-nan fu-chih</u>	78
<u>Hung hsien-chih</u>	105, 106	<u>Yün-nan ts'ung-shu</u>	92
<u>Kan-chou fu-chih</u>	105	<u>Yün-nan t'ung-chih kao</u>	88, 92, 100, 102, 105, 109, 110, 111
<u>Ku-chin shuo-hai</u>	129	<u>Yung-ch'ang fu-chih</u>	90
<u>Ku-yüan (chih-li) chou-chih</u>	75, 114	<u>Yung-hua lei-pien</u>	129
<u>Kuang-hsi t'ung-chih</u>	105		
<u>Kuei-chou t'ung-chih</u>	92, 100		
<u>K'un-ming hsien-chih</u>	88		
<u>Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien</u> <u>lei-cheng ch'u-pien</u>	SEE Secondary Authors, Li Huan		
<u>Li-tai hsiao-shih</u>	129		
<u>Ling-t'ai hsien-chih</u>	115		

18. ARABIC AND PERSIAN NAMES AND BOOKS

I must apologise for mixing up transcriptions in the text. The following list follows Brockelmann's transcriptions.

<u>Abū-Bakr</u>	27, 28, 29, 30	<u>Šarḥ Mawāqif</u>	43
<u>Aṣi'at al-Lama'at</u>	16, 42, 43	<u>Šarḥ al-Wiqāya</u>	44
<u>Baṣā'ir</u>	40	<u>Tafsīr</u>	40
<u>Chahār Fasl</u>	16, 23	<u>Taisīr</u>	37
<u>Ḡahān dāniš</u>	37	<u>Tanbīh</u>	16, 40
<u>Ḡāmī</u>	41, 42, 43	<u>Tarḡamāh</u>	49
<u>Ha-t'i-sui pu-ya-na</u>	75	<u>Wiqāya</u>	44
<u>Havā-i Minhāḡ</u>	16, 25	<u>Zāhid</u>	40
<u>Hidāya</u>	16, 44		
(al-) Ḥalīlī	39		
(al-) Iḡī	44		
<u>Ilm al-afāq</u>	37		
<u>Imāni Maḡmū'</u>	16, 25		
<u>Iraqī</u>	42		
<u>Iršād</u>	16, 39, 40		
<u>Kalima</u>	74		
(al-) Kāzarūnī	49		
<u>Kubrāwiyya</u>	30, 34		
<u>Lama'at</u>	42		
<u>Lawā'ih</u>	16, 41, 42		
<u>Maḡṣad i Aḡṣā</u>	16, 33, 34		
(al-) Marḡinānī	44		
<u>Mawāqif</u>	16, 43-4		
<u>Mieh T'ieh</u>	52		
<u>Mir'at al-insān</u>	16, 44		
<u>Mirsād (al-'Ibād)</u>	16, 27, 29		
<u>Muhimmāt</u>	16, 31, 32		
<u>Munabbihāt</u>	16, 32, 33, 39, 40		
<u>Naḡm ad-Dīn</u>	SEE (an-) Nasafī		
<u>Naḡm ad-Dīn Dāya</u>	SEE Abū-Bakr		
(an-) Naḡṣabandī	SEE Ḡāmī		
(an-) Nasafī	33, 39		
(an-) Nasafī	34		
(an-) Niffarī	43-4		
<u>Qādī</u>	40		
<u>Qazwinī</u>	39		
<u>Šahādāt</u>	54		
(as-) Samarqandī	40		

## POSTFACE (跋)

This work started out originally as an analysis of the Muslim works in Chinese, by Wang Tai-yü, Liu Chih and others. It was to include a list of all Muslim associates mentioned in these works, for the late Ming and early Ch'ing. It expanded to include all Muslims, civil and military officials, discussed by the important secondary sources, from Li Huan-i and Lan Tzu-hsi in the 19th Century to Pai Shou-i and Nakada Yoshinobu in the 20th. The original intention was to include all names found. This I have done for those sources used, but it must be admitted that there are other sources not tackled which would add further Muslim names and activities during this period. The work is thus incomplete.

Preliminary conclusions can be made for two important topics: Muslim surnames; and cities and provinces with Muslim communities.

Here, ranked approximately in order of their reliance as Muslim surnames, are the main surnames found in our Muslim works of the period concerned, late Ming to early Ch'ing. It is based on their occurrence as authors, then associates, of the works discussed. I have to some extent ignored the confirmation given by known Muslims of later periods or that provided by secondary scholars, Pai, Fu, etc. However, I have added, alongside, where Iwamura or Chin Chi-t'ang (and others) have specially mentioned these as Muslim surnames, including a few high up on Iwamura's list which do not appear in the books I have studied. I have also noted where the surname is one of the Jewish surnames of Kaifeng (the 7 major ones are marked with a \*).

1.	MA	馬	Iwamura *	Chin	
2.	LIU	劉	Iwamura*		
3.	WANG	王	Iwamura*		
4.	CHANG	張	Iwamura*		Jewish*
5.	WU	伍			
6.	TING	丁	Iwamura*	Chin	
7.	YUAN	袁			
8.	SAI	賽		Chin	
9.	HEI	黑		Chin	
10.	CHIN	金	Iwamura	Chin	Jewish*
11.	HA	哈		Chin	
12.	LI	李	Iwamura*		Jewish*
13.	SHE	舍			
14.	SHA	沙		Chin	
15.	YANG	楊	Iwamura*		
16.	HO	何	Iwamura*		
17.	MI	米			
18.	CH'ANG	常			
19.	CHOU	周	Iwamura	Chin	Jewish
20.	SUN	孫	Iwamura		
21.	YU	俞			
22.	HSIEH	俠			
23.	CHENG	鄭	Iwamura +		
24.	MU	穆	Iwamura+	Chin	Jewish
25.	KU	古	Iwamura	Chin	
26.	LIANG	梁	Iwamura+		
27.	HSU	許			
28.	HU	胡	Iwamura		
29.	SA	薩		Chin	

30.	SHEN	沈	Iwamura		
31.	PAI	白	Iwamura*	Chin	Jewish
32.	SHAN	閃	Iwamura	Chin	
33.	KAI	改		Chin	
34.	HAI	海	Iwamura	Chin	
35.	T'AN	譚			
36.	T' IEN	田			
37.	SU	蘇			
38.	YEN	閻			
39.	FENG	馮	Iwamura+		
40.	CH'EN	陳	Iwamura+		
41.	LAN	藍		Chin	
42.	WU	吳	Iwamura+		
43.	CHIANG	蔣			
44.	CHAN	詹			
45.	T'IEH	鐵		Chin	
46.	WAN	萬			
47.	AI	艾	Iwamura		Jewish*
48.	WEN	文			
49.	HUANG-FU	皇甫			
50.	TS'AI	蔡			
51.	TSO	佐			
52.	HUANG	黃		Chin	Jewish
53.	TING	定		Chin	
54.	TSAO	曹			
55.	KAO	高	Iwamura		Jewish*
56.	NIEH	聶			Jewish
57.	CHING	景			
58.	T'AN	談			

59	P'ENG	彭	
60.	CHIA	賈	
61.	YEH	冶	
62.	WEI	危	
63.	HO	鄂	
64.	KU	顧	
65.	LO	羅	
66.	CHIU	酒	
67.	FEI	費	Iwamura+
68.	MA	麻	Iwamura+
69.	HAN	韓	Iwamura+
70.	CHAO	趙	Jewish*
71.	SHIH	石	Jewish*

In the T'ang/Sung, the major cities with Muslim settlements were Canton, Kwangtung; Ch'üan-chou, Fukien; Changan, Shensi; Hangchow, Chekiang; Nanking, Kiangsu; Kaifeng, Honan. For the late Ch'ing, the major provinces concerned in the rebellions were Kansu and Yunnan. For the 20th Century, the spread might be different again. Population estimates stress Kansu, Yunnan, Hopei, Honan, Szechwan, Shantung and Shensi; and Sinkiang, Chinghai, Kiangsu, Shansi and Hupei.

Our references for the 17th and 18th Centuries suggest: Provinces Yunnan, Kiangsu, Shensi, Shantung, Kansu, Hopei, Szechwan and Hupei; cities Nanking, Peking, Changan, Hangchow; and possibly Chinkiang, Chengtu, Kaifeng and Suchow.

Finally, I would like to stress that this whole work is a preliminary one, the basis for future research rather than a final analysis.

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